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THE
PHILIPPINE
ISLANDS

BLAIR
and
ROBERTSON

IV

1576-1582



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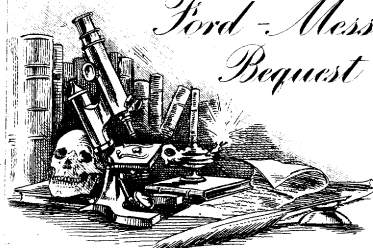
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THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

1493-1803

The PHILIPPINE ISLANDS 1493-1803

Explorations by Early Navigators, Descriptions of the Islands and their Peoples, their History and Records of the Catholic Missions, as related in contemporaneous Books and Manuscripts, showing the Political, Economic, Commercial and Religious Conditions of those Islands from their earliest relations with European Nations to the beginning of the Nineteenth Century

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS

Edited and annotated by EMMA HELEN BLAIR and
JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, with historical introduction and additional notes by EDWARD GAYLORD
BOURNE. With maps, portraits and other illustrations

Volume IV—1576-1582



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Cleveland, Ohio
MCMIII

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PREFACE

The first official report sent by Governor Francisco de Sande to the home government is dated June 7, 1576. It is introduced by a description of the winds prevalent in the Indian Archipelago. Arriving at Manila (August 25, 1575), he finds that much of the city has been destroyed by a Chinese pirate named Limahon; and he relates, in a graphic manner, the circumstances of this affair. In the first attack (September, 1574), fourteen Spaniards and more than eighty Chinese are slain. The enemy renew the attack a few days later, but are repulsed with much loss. The Moros of the vicinity rebel, insulting and robbing the friars and defiling the churches. The Chinese proceed to Pangasinan, where they erect a fort, determining to establish themselves there. All the Spanish forces are assembled, and an expedition is sent (March 23, 1575), under Juan de Salcedo, to attack the marauders. In the first encounter the Spanish are victorious; but through mismanagement they fail to follow up their success, and finally the Chinese depart from Luzón. A Chinese officer named Omoccon comes to search for the pirate Limahon; on his return, he carries some Augustinian friars to China, but they return in a few months. The Chinese bring certain presents to the governor, which he turns over to the king. He does not like that people, saying

that they are mean, impudent, importunate, and deceitful. He relates many interesting particulars regarding the country and people of China – derived from the various reports which have come to him from traders, missionaries, and the Filipino natives.

Sande has a poor opinion of the trade with China; the only useful article which the Chinese bring to the Philippines is iron. He urges here, as in the letter preceding this report, that the king should at once send an expedition for the conquest of China, for which four thousand to six thousand men would be needed. He argues that this enterprise would be an act of justice, for several curious reasons: it would free the wretched Chinese from the oppressive tyranny and cruelty of their rulers; it is right to punish them for their many crimes and vices; and they ought to be compelled to admit foreigners to their country. The governor is not troubled by any scruples of conscience respecting the Line of Demarcation; for he affirms that all the region from the Moluccas to the islands of Japan, inclusive, with Borneo and all the coast of China, is “within the demarcation of Spain.” He is ready to drive the Portuguese out of the Moluccas, if the king will consent thereto.

Sande gives further details as to the Philippines and their people. The climate is healthful, for those who live temperately. The culture of rice is described, and the fertility of the soil praised. Much interesting information is given regarding the characteristics, habits, and customs of the people; he regards most of them as drunken, licentious, and idle, and avaricious and murderous. The governor has

rebuilt the ruined fort at Cebú; but he thinks that a settlement there is useless and expensive. He asks for oared vessels, with which to navigate among the islands; and he is anxious to seize the Moluccas for Spain. He complains of the reckless manner in which repartimientos had been assigned by Legazpi and Lavezaris, an abuse which he is trying to reform. He has revoked many of these allotments, and placed them under the control of the crown. He has established two shipyards, which have done good work in building and repairing vessels. He needs artillery, or else skilled workmen to make it; also fifty good gunners, two master-engineers, and more troops. Sande has founded a hospital at Manila, mainly for the soldiers—apparently the first in the islands; and is planning to build a house in which convalescents may be properly cared for. He has begun to fortify Manila, and is making other preparations for its defense. The province of Pampanga, almost the only source of supply of food for the Spaniards, has been appropriated by Sande for the crown; he asks the king to confirm this action. He is endeavoring to stop various leaks in the royal treasury, and is providing for the worthy poor. He mentions the royal order that all the Indians should be induced to settle near the districts already pacified, in order to render them sedentary and to convert them to the Christian faith—a plan which he considers quite impracticable. The governor is greatly annoyed by the careless and extravagant administration of the royal funds by the officials at Manila; he makes various recommendations for securing better and more economical conduct of the public service. He reports the religious

status of the land, and calls for more priests, especially recommending the Franciscans, "since they live among the natives, and we need not support them." Certain concessions and exemptions should be continued, as the people are so poor; and for that reason customs duties ought not to be levied until the people can afford to pay them. The two friars whom the Chinese captain Omocon had consented to convey a second time to his country, not having means to satisfy with gifts his avaricious nature, had been therefore abandoned on a lonely island, where they are rescued by a passing troop of Spaniards. Sande enumerates various documents, maps, etc., which he is sending to the king; and he again appeals for consent to his proposal for the conquest of China. A paper containing memoranda for reply to this letter indicates that the king declines to entertain this scheme, and advises Sande to expend his energies upon the preservation and development of the lands already conquered.

In another report, dated June 8, 1577, Sande furnishes some information additional to that in the preceding document. The Moros of Luzón are very shrewd traders, and are skilful in alloying the gold which they obtain in that island. This practice causes the governor much perplexity regarding the currency question. He has succeeded, during the past two years, in putting "the affairs of the royal estate into as good order as in Mexico;" and has reformed various abuses, small and great. He explains the manner in which he has aided needy soldiers and other persons in want, and reassigned encomiendas of persons deceased. As for the natives,

Sande says that they are not simple, foolish, or timorous; "they can be dealt with only by the arquebuse, or by gifts of gold or silver." He has maintained good discipline among the soldiers, and reformed them from the vicious habits which had been prevalent among them. He asks that the concessions made regarding the customs duties and the royal fifths be continued, on account of the poverty of the colony. He renews his request for more religious teachers, and asks not only for secular priests, but more friars—especially those who cannot own property, as the Indians will have more regard for such. He explains in detail his difficulties regarding the proper disposal of the crown funds by the royal officials, and the heroic treatment made necessary by their inefficiency and mismanagement. The property of Guido de Lavezaris is confiscated, and the goods of other wrong-doers are seized. The city is now surrounded by a palisade and rampart; and the river-bank has been protected against the action of the waves. He has built, or has now in the shipyards, vessels worth in New Spain one hundred thousand ducats, which have cost him less than fifteen thousand. The resources of the land are being developed; the rebellious natives have been pacified; churches, and a house for the friars, have been erected; and a residence for the governor has been built. In all these undertakings, he finds it necessary to watch everything, and superintend the workmen; this care and oversight has enabled him to secure good returns from the expenditure of the public funds.

A papal bull dated February 6, 1578, erects the diocese of Manila, and constitutes its church a cathe-

dral; the duties and privileges of the bishop thereof are enumerated. He shall be subordinate to the archbishop of Mexico; and the usual tithes and other dues are remitted. Sande writes to the king (July 29, 1578) a brief report of his expedition to Borneo in the months of March to May preceding; and requests rewards and promotion for himself and his brothers. By a decree dated November 15, 1578, Pope Gregory XIII grants "plenary indulgence to all the faithful who visit churches" of the Franciscans in these Oriental regions. On May 13, 1579, King Felipe issues a decree regarding the foundation of monasteries in the Philippines. Fray Domingo de Salazar (a Dominican) has been appointed bishop of Manila, and will soon go thither with friars. The governor is ordered to ascertain where monasteries are needed, and there to erect buildings for this purpose.

Sande informs the king (May 30, 1579) of the result of his efforts to subdue other and neighboring islands. The city in Borneo which he attacked in the preceding year has been rebuilt, and the king of that land is ready to submit. The king of Jolo (Sulu) has become a vassal of Spain, and peace has been made with the people dwelling on the Rio Grande of Mindanao. Sande is still eager to set out for the conquest of the Moluccas and of China, and is doing all that he can to accumulate shipping and artillery for that purpose.

This letter is accompanied by a bulky document containing the official notarial record of the expedition which Sande mentions. The governor learns from Filipino natives of Luzón that the king of

Borneo oppresses and plunders their countrymen who visit his land – thus wronging vassals of Spain; and that the Borneans, being Mahometans, are spreading their heresy among the peoples of the archipelago. Sande writes a letter to this ruler, announcing his desire to confer with him, and to make a compact of peace and friendship. He demands from the king not only free opportunity for Christian preachers to evangelize the Borneans, but also the cessation of any further Mahometan propaganda by Borneans among the Filipinos. The king must also surrender any persons whom he has forcibly detained, with all their possessions; and must provide the Spaniards with food – for which, however, he will receive pay. No answer being made by the Borneans, and Sande's envoys not returning to the fleet, he enters the port, despite the resistance of the native vessels therein. The people thereupon flee inland, and the Spaniards enter the town, seizing there various possessions of the king – among them letters from the Portuguese, one of which is signed "El Rey" ("the King"). Sande takes possession of all Borneo for Spain. He then sends (May 23, 1578) one of his officers, Estevan Rodriguez de Figueroa, to subdue the Sulu Islands. He is instructed to reduce, as gently as he can, the pirates of that group to peaceful agriculturists, and secure from them the payment of tribute. Next, he is to go on a similar errand to Mindanao; and, as many of its inhabitants are Mahometans, he must strive to uproot "that accursed doctrine" there. Sande returns to Manila, whence in the following year (February 28, 1579) he despatches Juan Arce de Sadornil with a fleet to

Borneo, giving him detailed instructions for his conduct on this expedition. He is to ascertain the condition of affairs there, and gently endeavor to gain the submission of the king as a vassal of Spain. Sadornil goes to Borneo, and conducts various negotiations with the king, but cannot induce the latter to confer with him in person. Finally, seeing that he can accomplish nothing, and that his men are suffering from confinement and illness, he decides to return to Manila; and he advises Sande that a settlement of Spaniards in Borneo must, to be successful, be made in the town where the Moro court resides. In June, 1578, the king of Sulu submits to the Spanish power. From the Moluccas comes the news that the people of Ternate have revolted against the Portuguese, who have been compelled to abandon their fortress there and retreat to Amboina. Their trade in spices is therefore greatly injured, for the time; and other Malayan peoples are also hostile to the Portuguese.

Sande again sends (January, 1579) an expedition to Mindanao and Sulu, under Captain de Ribera, to secure their submission to Spanish authority. His instructions lay special stress on proper care for the health of the troops. The tribute desired from Sulu consists of "two or three tame elephants." Ribera goes to the Rio Grande of Mindanao, but can accomplish nothing; for the natives, in terror of the Spaniards, have abandoned their villages, fleeing to the mountains. Ribera erects a fort at the delta of the river, and receives the submission of a few neighboring chiefs; but, as his men are being prostrated by sickness, he obtains from a friendly *dato* (chief) a

list of the Indian villages and their population, with such information as he can gather, and departs – sending a small detachment of troops to pacify the district of Butuan. Going to Cavite, Ribera finds there a deputation from Sulu, who bring a little tribute, saying that their people have been harassed by famine ever since Figueroa came, a year before, to demand tribute from them. Finding upon investigation that this story is true, he gives back their tributes, receiving instead a cannon which they had taken from a wrecked Portuguese galley. Ribera then returns to Cebú.

A royal decree of March 26, 1580, provides for appointments to fill vacant benefices in the cathedral at Manila. The new governor, Ronquillo de Peñalosa, writes to the king (July 17, 1581), asking whether Manila is to be regarded as his capital and headquarters, and giving advice in various matters. Like many such documents, this is endorsed: “Seen; an answer is unnecessary.”

As some of the Franciscan friars who have come to the Philippines have preferred to labor in China, Peñalosa orders (March 2, 1582) that no person shall leave the islands without his permission. In a letter dated June 15 of that year, he complains to the king that he has not received the expected reënforcements of men from New Spain; that the Audiencia of that country (in which is now Sande, superseded by Peñalosa as governor of the Philippines) meddles with his government and threatens to make trouble for him; and that he needs a competent assistant in his office. Ternate is now under Spanish control, and Spain monopolizes the rich spice-trade; Panama is the best route therefor. An “English pirate,” pre-

sumably Sir Francis Drake, has been intriguing with the Malays at Ternate, and the post there should be more heavily fortified. The newly-appointed bishop, Salazar, has arrived; on account of his austerity and his wish to dominate, he is not a favorite with the people.

THE EDITORS

April, 1903.

DOCUMENTS OF 1576-78

Relation of the Filipinas Islands. Francisco de Sande; June 7, 1576.

Relation and description of the Phelipinas Islands. [Francisco de Sande]; June 8, 1577.

Bull for erection of the diocese of Manila. Gregory XIII; February 6, 1578.

Letter to Felipe II. Francisco de Sande; July 29, 1578.

Indulgence to those who visit Franciscan churches; Gregory XIII; November 15, 1578.

SOURCES: These documents are obtained from MSS. in the Archivo de Indias, Sevilla, excepting the papal decrees; the first of these is from *Doc. inéd. Amér. y Oceanía*, xxxiv, pp. 72-79, the second from the *Crónica de la provincia de San Gregorio* of Fray Francisco de Santa Inés (Manila, 1892), i, pp. 215, 216.

TRANSLATIONS: The first document is translated by Rachel King; the second, by José M. Ascensio; the third and fifth, by Rev. T. C. Middleton, O.S.A.; the fourth, by G. A. England.

RELATION OF THE FILIPINAS ISLANDS

Royal Catholic Majesty:

I sailed from the port of Acapulco, Nueva España, on the sixth of April of the year seventy-five, as I had previously informed your Majesty from that port. On account of setting sail during the calms, we were delayed, so that it took us seventy-two days to reach the Ladrones. There we filled our water-butts, and I took on board a large anchor that I found there that had belonged formerly to the flagship lost there by Ffelipe de Sauzedo; in the other ship we placed four small boat-loads of ballast. All this detained us only a day and a half. On nearing the cape of Spiritu Santo in Tandaya, one of the Philipinas, our progress was impeded by the vendaval, and our pilots also gave us considerable trouble, so that I arrived at Manilla on the twenty-fifth of August of the year seventy-five. On that day I took possession of the office of governor and captain-general.

2. Although your Majesty may know better than I the matters I am about to relate, still, like a countryman, I wish to speak, and to tell what I myself have experienced. I am informed here that throughout the entire sea in these latitudes there are two general seasons. During one, the dry season, the *brisas*, as

they are called, blow from the southeast to the north, finally blowing directly from the north; while in the other, or wet season, the *vendavales* blow from northwest to south-southeast. Thus, during these two seasons, the winds blow from every point of the compass. For this reason it will be seen that coming from Nueva España, from the east toward this western region, the brisas would help; while the vendavales, especially the usual one, which is a south-westerly wind in the channels of these islands, would impede the progress of the ship. These two general seasons begin in some years somewhat earlier than in others, and in some places before they do in others. However, it is quite clear and evident that by the end of May and the middle of June, the vendaval begins here from the west (and I believe that this is true of all the southern sea), and blows strongly night and day. Now if for any reason it should cease for a moment it would only be to burst forth again with renewed vigor. Such a period of quietness is called here *calladas* ["silence"]. The brisa begins in November, and lasts until the end of May. Between these two general seasons two others exist, called *bonanças* ["gentle winds"] which last from the middle of March to the end of May, and comprise also part of September and October. During that time the bonança of April and May is the most prevalent wind, although other winds are blowing constantly. Should the usually mild winds prove severe, then the opposite season would develop, so that in April a vendaval often presents itself, and in September a violent brisa may blow. These seasons, I think, correspond to those of the northern sea, as you may be already aware – although I do not know whether

they are at all regular, for the fleets of merchant ships leave Nueva España the middle of April and somewhat later, taking thirty, forty, and sixty days to reach Havana, a distance of three hundred leagues. Although the pilots tell us that this is a good time to sail in a southeast direction, they cannot deny that they endure very great hardships from the calms caused by the bonanzas. During this journey from Nueva España to Havana, many people have met their death. Leaving in February in a few days one reaches Havana. But I, sailing the sixth of April (that is, in the middle of the bonanza season), did not encounter bad weather, being detained twenty days in the calms thirty leagues from Nueva España. Neither did we encounter so feeble winds that our progress might have been retarded; nor did the vendaval of July burst forth before it was due.

3. I learned in these islands that this city had been burned by a pirate and that there had been a war. There they asked me for lead, and I readily complied with their requests, until I was weary of granting petitions. I thought that we had some lead; but on summoning my men, and searching for it, only five or six arrobas were found; and that was in sheets, such as are used to stop leaks in ships. Arriving at Manila, I could get no lead; and, not being able to obtain it elsewhere, we took from the sides of the ships somewhat less than seventy arrobas, some of which was used. With what is left we remain, hoping for the grace of God; for should not the ship sheathed with lead arrive, I do not know what would become of this camp of your Majesty. Your Majesty will understand, then, the condition of affairs here; and will please have pity and consideration for

the men who are serving your Majesty here, so far away, and with so much hardship and so much danger.

4. On my arrival, I found Manila in great part burned and destroyed. Let me relate what occurs here. They say that the kingdom of China is often invaded by corsairs, and that one named Limahon (or, as the Chinese call him, Dim Mhon) had committed great depredations in China, whereby he had amassed great wealth. He was pursued by his king to the region near the upper point of this island of Luçon. Near an island about forty leagues from Luçon, he captured a Chinese merchant-ship that was en route from this city of Manila for purposes of trade. The merchants carried with them a quantity of gold and many reals of four Mexicans each, and other things obtained in this island, which were highly esteemed by them. Demanding with threats, where they had obtained this gold and silver, he robbed them of their goods, which they said had been obtained in Luçon, in trade with the Castilians. A pilot assisted him greatly in his negotiations here, for he said that the people were quite secure and careless, and were scattered through many places; and that, if he would come to the island in a short time, he would find only old people and invalids, as a galley was about to leave in order to take a captain to Mindanao and perhaps had already gone, so that there would be no one with whom to fight. The above-mentioned Limahon believed him, and thereupon came to the city. On the way, however, at dawn of day, without himself being seen, he met one of your Majesty's galliots. On this vessel there were twenty-two people, counting soldiers and sailors.

This ship was sent by Captain Juan de Saucedo, who was in Ylocos, to some villages of Cinay [Sinay], near by, for provisions. This vessel had been taken from this city by order of Guido de Lavezares, in order to explore the province of Cagayan, to which I sent Don Luis de Sahajossa this last winter. When the corsair saw the galliot, he lowered his small boats and made an assault upon it; but, although the galliot was badly equipped, the soldiers defended themselves bravely from the attack of the small boats. The natives on the coast say that a bronze falcon weighing fourteen quintals was fired five times. This falcon was called "Vigilantib" by the soldiers, on account of this word being used as an inscription upon it. As the corsair saw what a brave defense they made against the small boats, he bore down upon them with his whole fleet, consisting of sixty-two large ships, and with their great fire-bombs they burned the galley in a very short time. The poor fellows in it not having confidence in their oars – as they had only four oars to a bench, the galliot having fifteen benches – those still living threw themselves into the water. Thus they all perished, either at the hands of the Chinese or at those of the natives, who are wont to act in this manner. The Chinese sacked the galley, and placed the "Vigilantib" and other arms in their ships. This falcon was the greatest loss sustained by the galley, which was lost because it had been poorly equipped and had an insufficient number of men; they, as a result, could not warn Manila and other places. Had they been supplied with ammunition, it would have been easy to escape; and even, with the "Vigilantib" alone, to have destroyed their fleet.

5. With this prize captured from the galliot, the corsair proceeded toward Manila. At this time a soldier, Sayavedra, sergeant of Juan de Saucedo, who was in one of the neighboring villages, saw what had happened, and that the galley had been burned; and he wrote a letter to this effect to Juan de Saucedo, sending it overland by an Indian to Vigan, where Saucedo was located with one hundred men. In a short time Juan de Saucedo saw the ships of the corsair and his armament; so he sent a virey to advise the people of Manila of what was taking place. The ships in advance, on discovering the virey, deceived its occupants, and stood out to sea, to round a promontory, through the bay of which was coming the deceived virey. The *virey* is a kind of vessel used by the natives of these islands; it has but little steadiness, and always navigates near the shore. While this little boat was going around the bay, all the ships came upon it at once. The occupants of the little boat had to run aground, in order to escape with their lives, and to hide in the hills. Then they took out their weapons, and paused to see what was taking place. The Chinese broke up the ship, but did not completely destroy it, and then continued their journey. The soldiers again took to their vessel, and slowly wended their way to Manila, arriving there one day after St. Andrew's Day, at noon, and after the corsair had made the first assault. They spread the news that Juan de Saucedo was coming from Ylocos with all haste, for he had found out who Limahon was. These soldiers landed in a hostile region, that of a certain people called Zambales; they are very much like the Chichimecos of Nueva España, who have no ambition higher than that of

cutting off men's heads. They are accustomed to the use of bows and arrows. Consequently three soldiers in a rough country could not have escaped, unless God had kept their boat from being entirely destroyed by the Sangleyes.

6. The corsair continued his journey, and, intending to make an attack at dawn, anchored outside the bay, and sent all his small boats ashore in charge of some captains, in the early part of St. Andrew's Eve. They say that the corsair remained with the ships; but that in the boats there were seven hundred men, among whom were a few arquebusiers, and many pikemen, besides men armed with battle-axes.¹ They were clad in corselets which are coats lined with exceedingly thick cotton. They had durable bamboo hats, which served as helmets; they carried cutlasses, and several daggers in their belts; and all were barefoot. Their manner of warfare or of fighting, was to form a squadron composed of men with battle-axes, among whom were placed some arquebusiers, a few of the latter going ahead as skirmishers. One of every ten men carried a banner, fastened to his shoulders and reaching two palms above his head. There were other and larger banners also, so that it appeared as if some important personage was coming who served in the capacity of master-of-camp. These, then, were the people who made the first attack.

7. The entrance to the bay of this city of Manila is southwest of Manila. On its southern side, and

¹ The Spanish phrase here is *armas enastadas*, literally, "weapons fastened to handles." See cuts of Chinese battle-axes (from specimens in Musée d' Artillerie, Paris) in Auguste Demmin's *Arms and Armor* (London, 1877), p. 442.

to the right on entering the bay, is the port of Cavite, two leagues from Manila. They took the shorter route, which was safer for their small boats, and came somewhat late within half a league of Manila without being seen; for the slight breeze stirring from the east prevented them from making the assault at daybreak. Manila is on a point or isthmus running southeast and northwest; and the river encompasses it from the east to the northwest. They did not enter by the river, in order not to be seen by the fishermen who are constantly going and coming; and also for the reason that the bay is very wide at this point, and they would have to force an entrance, which they did not dare attempt in their small boats. The pirates therefore began a hurried march along shore toward the city, dragging their lances. They arrived at the city somewhere between nine and ten o'clock in the morning. The first house attacked was that of the master-of-camp, Martin de Goite; he was sick in bed at the time. Already some natives had come to him from the shore, shouting at the tops of their voices that enemies were near, and that the king of Borneo was coming down upon the Castilians. Now as Martin de Goite knew that this was the season of the brisas, and that it was impossible to come from Borneo, which lies to the southwest, because the wind was dead ahead, and not believing in the possibility of other enemies, he laughed at the men, telling them that they were drunken. Meanwhile, the advance-guard of the squadron was near the house, when he arose, put on a suit of mail, and took a sword with which to defend himself. It is believed that the Chinese were passing straight ahead toward the governor's house and the artillery,

guided by the spy whom they brought with them, for they were stealing along the shore forward. This would have meant the total destruction of this city and camp; for your Majesty's houses, being at the extreme end of the point of land made by the sea and the river, were without any defense. The inhabitants of the city were each in his own house, and the artillery was lying on the ground dismounted, the pieces scattered here and there throughout the camp. The point of the island once occupied, the Spaniards had no place wherein to gather and fortify themselves, so that they could have a safe position back of them. God provided this, for it is said that, when the enemies came marching in line along the seacoast, the wife of Martin de Goite, the master-of-camp, was looking out of a window which faced the seacoast. She had a child's helmet on her head, and she called and beckoned to them, telling them in Castilian that they were dogs, and that they would all be killed. The Chinese observed this, and learned from the guide that this was the house of the master-of-camp. They regarded this as a very important piece of news, and, going to that house, hurled many fire-bombs, with which they burned it in a very short time; for it was made, like all the houses there, of wood and straw. They killed some men who had gathered there; they also killed the master-of-camp, who had been injured by the fire and wounded by an arquebuse-shot in one arm, and who threw himself from a window, on account of the cruel flames. A soldier, although the enemy struck at him repeatedly with cutlasses and battle-axes, escaped with but a slight wound. It is believed that if the master-of-camp had left the house early, he would have

escaped; but that he tried to defend himself in his house, which he was unable to do, on account of his severe illness. Several other persons were killed there with him. His wife, who had shouted to them, they stripped, and tore off a ring which she was slow in drawing from her finger, and a necklace; and then they stabbed her severely in the neck. She rushed from the house and hid in the tall grass, thus escaping with her life; and she is now alive. Another woman and three or four men were killed. In burning that house, and in the resistance offered there, they were detained some time; therefore news of this affair reached the city and the house of the governor, Guido de Lavezares. The first intimation that they had of the approach of the enemy was the sight of the burning house of the master-of-camp, which thus revealed it. When the affair at the house was over, the pirates attempted to proceed once more to the beach.

The delay at the house was important, for in the meanwhile Captains Velasquez and Chacon, with what soldiers there were, went to the seacoast; and from the shelter of the houses facing the beach fired well-aimed volleys from their arquebuses, whereat a number of the advance guard fell. Thus was God pleased that with the death of thirteen or fourteen Spaniards and more than eighty Chinese, the latter had enough, retreated to their boats, and went away. The Spaniards did not molest them while they were retreating, on this day, on account of their own small number of fighting men, and for fear that such a course might incite those fleeing to return. The corsairs did not utter a word, nor did they complain, even when they fell with wounds. Those in command

endeavored to induce their men to press forward, but did not succeed. Most of the Spaniards who were killed were arquebusiers, who had drawn near in order to take good aim. Although they did this, so many battle-axes were directed against them that they were overthrown. Now had there been better order in keeping the soldiers from making a sally unless commanded, it is thought that, since there was a body of lancers who could have met the enemy face to face, none would have been killed except those in the house of the master-of-camp, where more damage was done them by fire than by weapons. The corsairs went to the port of Cavite, where they found their chief with all his fleet; for on seeing the fire in the city, and hearing the roar of the artillery, he knew that his men were accomplishing their purpose, and entered the bay, going straight to the port of Cavite. Those of his men who had gone to the city in the boats told him that they were unable to finish the affair or to accomplish more, for the Castilians were a very brave people.

8. After the flight of the Chinese, a Chinese merchant who was in the city, Sinsay by name, called upon the governor. He told him the corsair's name, who he was, and his power. He also stated that he was a pirate, and not sent by order of his king; and that without doubt he would return in three days. He advised the Spaniards to fortify themselves, and to remove the straw from the roofs of your Majesty's houses, so that they could not be fired – advice which was acted upon.

9. The corsair Limahon rebuked his captains, and publicly manifested his disgust at their defeat. Then he summoned his soldiers, paid them all, and

made them great promises. They agreed to rest one day and to return on the morning of the third day, when he would accompany them personally – which he did, with his entire fleet.

10. It seems that Guido Lavezares, on that day, ordered that two of the principal Moros be arrested and imprisoned, saying that, by means of them, the Moros would supply him with food. Thereupon the Moros rebelled, and the prisoners were placed, bareheaded, in the stocks. This was the occasion of a suit brought against one Osorio, the constable, in whose house was the prison. He claims that he was not guilty of the offense, saying that one Sancho Ortiz de Agurto, sergeant of Captain Velasquez, killed them, or ordered certain slaves to kill them. The suit was decided accordingly.

11. The first attack was made on the day of St. Andrew the Apostle. On Tuesday, the last of September² of the year seventy-four, the captains began the fortifications, making with boards, stakes, and boxes and barrels filled with sand, a palisade from the river to the sea. Although it was the best they could build, it was weak enough. The next day, Wednesday, at noon the three soldiers came to warn the people, as I have previously mentioned. At nightfall of this day arrived Juan de Saucedo. As before stated, he had been stationed in Ylocos with fifty soldiers. He came almost within sight of the Chinese fleet, and upon entering the bay, took the left-hand side, leaving the right side of the port to the Chinese. The people were overjoyed to see him and

² The day of St. Andrew falls on November 30, according to the church calendars.

his soldiers, and that night they assisted in the work of the fortifications. Very early upon the next day (Thursday) the Chinese advanced in martial array, as if determined upon revenge. At four o'clock the whole fleet appeared in front of the city, in the form of a great crescent, so that they might be there before daybreak; and three salutes were fired from all the guns of the whole fleet. Then at dawn they lowered the small boats, finally disembarking near the house of the master-of-camp, which they had burned. The chief landed, but it is reported that he did not fight, or leave that place, where he remained seated in a chair. He divided his soldiers there – numbering, it is said, about one thousand men – into two bodies. Part of them he sent through the principal street of the city, and the others along the beach. The latter took the same route as those who arrived on the first day. Besides these two squadrons, other men were sent along the river-bank.

12. They were allowed to land, which has been considered a great mistake; for all along the shore the land is covered with grass high enough to form a fine ambushade, where the arquebusiers could easily have been placed under cover. The corsair might have been easily killed with one shot, when he landed in his chair to take command.

13. This day the pirates, as if previously determined, did not burn any houses that seemed to be of good quality. They went straight to the fort, and assailed it vigorously on two sides. They encountered a strong resistance from the river side and in front, and some of them were killed. On the side next the sea, the guard of the fort was entrusted to a sergeant, named Sancho Hortiz de Agurto. He

went down to the shore, leaving the post, where he was stationed to find out from what quarter the Chinese were coming. They were already so near that, upon one of the Chinese meeting him, the lance of the latter must have proved the longer weapon; for he wounded the soldier, who was armed only with a halberd, in the neck. Either this wound or some other obliged him to retire; and, upon his doing so, the Chinese shot him in the back with an arquebuse, which caused his death. They assert that this must have occurred as narrated, for he was seen to measure his halbert against the lance of the Chinese. They found him wounded with a lance-thrust, and the larger hole caused by the bullet was in his breast, a proof that the bullet left his body there. But his friends tried to say that while he was fighting with the Sangleys, they shot him in the back – which might have been so; for as the enemy were forcing their way into the fort, they naturally met with resistance from those defending that position. Thus according to his friends, the mistake in leaving the palisade caused the harm. On this account it happened that, when they forced that position, they found there the least resistance. About eighty Chinese entered the fort at that point, and all of them might have done so had they all been of equal courage. Our soldiers attacked them immediately, with lance and arquebuse, killing them all, according to report. This result was aided by the resistance experienced by the assaulters in other parts of the fort, which forced the Chinese to commence a retreat. Now when the main division of those who had entered the fort saw the others retreat, they too retreated and did not enter, abandoning the eighty, all of whom the Spaniards

killed whether they sought flight by land or sea. On this day they burned the Augustinian church, the church of the city, and a galley that was grounded near the river; and they also destroyed an old ship. This galley was about to sail to Mindanao, as previously stated. Three Spaniards were killed and several wounded on this day, and more than two hundred Chinese. The greatest damage was caused by the fire; for a great fire-bomb fell upon some powder, which exploded causing the death of two or three other men.

14. It is said that the corsair Limahon tried to force his men to remain, but was unsuccessful, so he retired, embarked in his boats, and set sail with his vessels for the port of Cavite.

15. It is thought that allowing the Chinese to embark on their retreat without hindrance was a mistake. Some of the Spaniards did attempt to prevent them, but the corsair, fearing that this might happen, sent some boats by sea to the river, so that the Spaniards should continue their guard, and not hinder the embarkation; and so that they might believe that those in the boats were reënforcements sent to take them in the rear. Thus it was believed, regarding it casually, that if the corsair had had much force and had taken thought in the beginning to attack in so many different places, he would have done it; but that either he did not understand this, or did not dare to do it. Therefore he collected his men, without any damage being inflicted on him in his retreat.

16. As the natives of this place, who are Moros, saw what took place the first day, thinking that the Chinese were victorious, they all rebelled on the

second day. In that short space of time there gathered around the city of Manila more than ten thousand Moros, in their little boats, ready to obey the commands of the corsair. They say, too, that messengers were sent to Cavite, and the news spread broadcast. Wherever friars were stationed, the Moros captured and insulted them, threatened them with death, and robbed them of everything. They defiled the churches, killing goats there; and slew all the Spaniards possible, and their slaves. It is for this reason, the soldiers say, that they did not leave the fort, in order to prevent the departure of the corsairs, for the Moros surrounded them on all sides. When the Moros knew that the Sangleys had gone, and that the Spaniards had been victorious, they set the friars free; and, little by little, they again became submissive – apologizing for their revolt because of the chiefs who had been slain in prison.

17. The artillery was badly mounted, and there was no gunner who knew how to fire it. If the Spaniards had had sufficient artillery, that would have proved very effectual; and, as the vessels neared the city, some of them might have been sent to the bottom. No damage, however, was done to any vessel, although they were fired upon; so that all the resistance which they made was with lances and arquebuses.

18. The corsair went to the port of Cavite with his fleet, and did not appear again; and not one ship could be found at the dawn of day. He departed to Ylocos, whence he came. He determined to establish himself in this island, settling in the province of Pangasinan, in the vicinity of Ylocos. There he founded a settlement, consisting of a great fort, in

which dwelt all those who had accompanied him; and a counter-fort in the middle with an excellent and well-constructed house for himself, where he was recuperating, forty leagues from this city of Manila.

19. The wall of the fort was very high and built of palm-logs, and the counter-fort was built of palm-wood planks. When the corsair arrived there, he seized by treachery several chiefs of that land, through whom he obtained supplies. He robbed them of all their substance, and, in general treated them badly. As he had their chiefs, the common people could not flee; and because the corsair did not kill them, as he had done with others, they supported and served him. On this account he was very well supplied with provisions, wood, and other necessary things.

20. The Spanish people who were not in the city during that attack were scattered throughout the province of Camarines, one hundred leagues from here. There were almost a hundred men with a captain in the island of Cebu, and seventy more in Ylocos under Juan de Saucedo, who had gone thither to form a settlement, since these men were the encomenderos of that province. When the corsair went away, a ship was sent to find out where he had halted; and, upon discovering this, all the Spanish people were summoned, who came to Manila as quickly as possible. In the meantime Guido de Lavezares appointed Juan de Saucedo master-of-camp, and all began preparations to meet the enemy. During the time of preparation for the expedition, in order to leave the city in security, they constructed a fort; it is now finished, and was made by the

natives, the wood being paid for at the expense of your Majesty. Your Majesty's carpenters here also assisted, so that the work was completed. The master-of-camp, Juan de Saucedo, and all the Spaniards who had gathered, and were available for the expedition, were summoned. They numbered about two hundred and fifty-six, together with two thousand five hundred friendly Indians; and they set out in fifty-nine native vessels, commanded by Captains Chacon, Chaves, Rribera, and Rramirez. These officers were instructed to consult together in regard to whatever the said master-of-camp should freely and voluntarily communicate to them, as it was he who was conducting the present undertaking.

21. They say that the corsair had, in all, about three thousand men and as many women, whom he had forcibly taken from China and Japan. The best people that he had were natives of those countries.

22. The Spaniards left Manila on the twenty-third of March of 75, and arrived at the river of Pangasinan on Holy Wednesday, the thirtieth of March. They entered by the bar of the river, two hours before daybreak; and, without being seen, landed the soldiers and four pieces of artillery. They selected the spot where the river was narrowest, to see whether they could obstruct the passage of the Chinese ships. They sent out spies, who returned with the information that the Chinese were off their guard, and were careless. Upon this the master-of-camp sent Captains Chaves and Chacon in haste, with nine vessels, in each of which were about eight men, with orders to approach the Chinese boats and to try to capture one or more of them – especially the

big ones, so that he might be able with them to obstruct the bar of the river. He also sent Captain Ribera with twenty-eight men and some Indians by land, so that, at the same time when the captains were examining the river in their ships the former could assault the fort, in order to divert the people in it, and to enable those on the river to seize the said vessels. The plan for the enterprise failed, but success came in an unexpected manner; for it pleased God that, when the Spanish ships discovered the Chinese, thirty-five Chinese vessels were setting out to look for supplies for the corsair. As they were sailing along quite free from care, they caught sight of the Spaniards, and turned about and fled. It happened that, as the Spaniards pursued them, firing their arquebuses, the Chinese ships almost ran aground; whereupon all the men jumped overboard and fled to the fort, abandoning their ships. The same thing occurred to the sailors of the other fleet, so that in a moment the entire fleet was captured, together with all it contained; but it was thoughtlessly fired, and was entirely burned.

23. By this time, about ten o'clock in the morning, they began fighting in the fort under Captain Grabiell de Ribera, and had already forced an entrance. When Captain Chaves heard them from the ships, he went to their assistance, where he was joined immediately by Captain Chacon. They succeeded in reaching the first fort, capturing more than one hundred women and children after killing many of the men. At this time they set fire to the fort, claiming afterward that it was done by the Indians. This was a great mistake, for the wind blew the flames in the faces of the Spaniards, hurting them very much.

Some of the soldiers remained to rob the fort. The master-of-camp did not go to their assistance with reënforcements – although the captains say that they notified him that, as they were doing so little on account of the fire, the Chinese were commencing to make repairs. As night was approaching, it was necessary for the captains to retire, leaving the fort which they had gained. If reënforcements of those who had remained in camp with the master-of-camp had come up then, they would have captured all the enemy. It is said that the Chinese were hurrying from the other side of the fort, on their way to the hills.

24. When Captains Chaves and Chacon left the ships, all were burning; for either the soldiers or the Indians, it is not known why, set fire to them, so that, in a moment, they were all ablaze.

25. On account of the great rejoicing over the unexpected victory, they overlooked the matter of keeping some of the ships both to bar up the river, and because they were large and well-equipped, particularly the flagship of the corsair. The success requisite in this affair failed through a lack of system in such an occurrence, as might be expected in fighting with barbarous people. *Item*, the master-of-camp was lacking in quickness in coming to the rescue upon hearing the firing on shore, so that at least Captain Ribera's force, so small, might not be swept away. *Item*, sentinels were lacking, as well as detachments of men to serve as reënforcements for the sake of security, and to furnish aid on occasions like the above.

26. Some of the soldiers went to the master-of-camp, accompanied by slaves carrying some of the

pieces from the fort. They reported a victory, saying that the fort had surrendered, and that all was finished. These men went without orders from their captains, but were not punished; nor was any new action taken, notwithstanding that the captains assert that they sent reports of the condition of the war. The captains, upon seeing that the Chinese were losing all fear, and had wounded some of the men, returned to the camp about sunset, overcome with fatigue. Had those in camp given aid then, the rampart would not have been abandoned; but they could have stayed in or behind it, and victory was certain. The captains say that the soldiers were very eager, and, as could be seen, fought from ten in the morning; but that the country is hot, that their weapons were heavy, that the smoke beat in their faces, and that they saw night approaching without reinforcements or any food. They even say they would have perished had they not found a well whence the Chinese drew water for their work; and this water, although bad, they drank from their helmets, being refreshed thereby. On account of these conditions they were compelled to retire to the camp. Upon their arrival at camp, they declare that they were met by the master-of-camp, Juan de Saucedo, who told them that, if he were a soldier and not the master-of-camp, he would die with them, for he was also a soldier to fight with the Chinese. The said captains and the people generally felt that the master-of-camp was very much troubled about what had happened – he complaining that they, despite his order to the contrary, had burned the fleet, and spent their time with the enemy in the fort; they responding that he was requiting them very poorly, and that,

after they had gained the day and attained the victory at so great peril to themselves, he spoke such words through envy, that he proved his treachery, and refused to aid them in their necessity. From this arose many slanders, hate, and differences of opinion among the soldiers, that God alone can dispel. It is certain that there was a lack of persons who could direct such a battle, and the day was certainly the luckiest, as well as the least systematic, that could be imagined. A few of the men were wounded and five were killed on account of their lack of order, and because they waited until the enemy were recuperated.

27. A council was held, the following night, by the master-of-camp and the captains. Some of the latter thought it expedient to make an attack the next morning, before the corsair should regain his courage. As this was the prevailing opinion, the master-of-camp went with all his men to make an assault. On nearing the fort, they heard rumors and opinions that the place was already being fortified. The master-of-camp retired his forces, saying that it was not convenient to make the assault, or to expose the few Spaniards that your Majesty had here to so much danger. Now at this time there arose a great difference of opinion, caused by private interposition. It certainly was a mistake not to make the assault on that day, for the day before counted for but little; and a captain offered to reconnoiter the weakest part, and to lead in the assault.

28. After this retreat, they encamped near the enemy, on the islet formed by the river, which runs north and south. The enemy were on the northern side and the Spaniards on the southern. It was a

good thing to have located so near the enemy, if they had immediately made a defense for the artillery, which could have been done with stakes and earth. That should have been done before it was established there; but they took up their position before they had made the bulwark.

29. By this time the corsair had regained his courage, and ordered certain of his guns fired at the camp. The "Vigilantib," which had been captured from the galley, as abovesaid, shattered the leg of a standard-bearer of the master-of-camp, striking him in the middle of the shin-bone. This man was healed, and is now living. This catastrophe caused such an impression, that they resolved to move the camp from the island to the mainland, so that the river might intervene between them and the spot occupied by the corsair. It was a great mistake followed by still greater ones. The affair became a long siege, and they amused themselves in gambling freely, in levying tribute, and in other like things.

30. The corsair was not expecting an assault by the Spaniards, so his fort was not completed, lacking the terreplein; and his artillery was unmounted, and no sentinels were placed. He had made no preparations for war, beyond what a colonist might do. But now he hurried to make preparations and to defend his cause. He sent out squadrons from time to time with lances and arquebuses to fight—although he himself did not leave the fort for the battle, but from within gave his signals of retreat or attack.

31. The master-of-camp only made some ambuscades, prolonging the siege. It is certain that the Spaniards never fought the Chinese with all their men, force to force. Although the Chinese leader

sent out five hundred or six hundred men, who pretended to show fight, they generally fled when fifty of the Spaniards came out. It is certain that, force to force, the Chinese would not wait to fight; and if by the help of God they remained they would be routed, although they had three times as many men, for they are not a warlike race. It is also certain, and all acknowledge it to be true, that the Spaniards desired to fight hand to hand, and to make the assault. They always did their duty, fighting like valiant men, although there were some cowardly ones, as all bodies have their weak side.

32. On account of the space given to the corsair, the latter was able to delay things and to do some damage. For instance some soldiers were imprudently sent to form some small ambuscades; but the Chinese were warned of them, and made a counter ambuscade. Of the seven soldiers who left the camp, the Chinese killed and captured five, and the other two fled. It was exceedingly foolhardy to send so few men out in a case like this, and caused great harm, for it made the Chinese more daring. The master-of-camp left camp with about twenty men to form another ambuscade, contrary to the advice of the captains. This also proved unsuccessful, although, as help came, the Chinese retired without doing any damage.

33. As the corsair had no ships, he sent men out to cut wood, and as all his soldiers were good workmen, they soon constructed thirty ships within the fort. With these he set sail at noon on the fourth of August, having been besieged within the fortifications for over four months. He directed his ships toward his own country, but, as he left, he committed some dam-

age with the "Vigilantib." At this time the Spaniards feared that, when the ships were leaving, they were about to attack them; and that some column was about to take them in the rear. For this reason they fortified their rear-guard strongly when the corsair left. It was ludicrous to expect that the Chinese were coming to attack them, when with all their squadrons they never dared once to measure their strength with ours.

34. Before this the Spaniards had filled the river with stakes, to retard the progress of the corsair, but the latter removed them. He compelled some of his men to enter the water; and ropes being tied to the shoulders of these men, they removed, although with considerable difficulty, a sufficient number of the stakes to clear the vessels. While he was removing the stakes, the Spaniards stationed arquebusiers and as large a force as they were able; but in this there was negligence in not opposing the enemy with better arquebusiers.

35. They say that the corsair sent offers of friendship to the Spaniards, saying that he would introduce us to the kingdom of China and assist us in conquering the same. In regard to this there was no further discussion; because he asked as a condition that the siege should be raised, and that the Spaniards should go to Manila, where he would return, in order to adjust the matter. Then, too, Omocon, a captain of the king of China, was in that city, who had come to locate the corsair, besides Sinsay, and others, which made the Spaniards suspicious of admitting these discussions.

36. It seems that in the kingdom of China this corsair, Limahon, had done much damage; and the

Guido de Lavezares gave him a certain present to take to China. Fathers Fray Martin de Errada, a native of Navarra, and Fray Gerónimo Martin, a native of Mexico, went with him. A soldier named Miguel de Loarca, and another called Pedro Sarmiento, also accompanied them. They reached Pangasinan where they took two other soldiers with them, Nicolas de Cuenca and Juan de Triana. They took also as interpreter a Chinese, named Hernando, who understood Spanish. The above-mentioned Sinsay also went with them. A large vessel belonging to Omocon was left in Pangasinan with thirty or forty Chinese; Omocon said that he did so, in order that they might be of service to the camp. The fathers and soldiers went to China with Omocon, and what they saw there they have since related.³

37. It is believed that it was a mistake to let Omocon go, because with the two ships that he took, and the one that remained there, it might have been possible to close up the passage of the river. However at the time of the departure of the corsair minor matters should not be classed with errors.

38. When the friars reached China, they carried letters with them. They were there four or five months, and might have remained there, but the governors did not agree to that. Because of their eagerness to see Limahon, the governors despatched a fleet of ten ships, and with it the fathers and Spaniards, on the pretext that, if it were necessary for the Chinese to assist in the war, the latter would lend their aid. They appointed Sinsay captain, and Omocon a captain of higher rank. On the way, these

³ This narrative is given in Juan Gonzales de Mendoza's *Hist. China*, part ii, book i, ch. ix-xxix.

king was at a great expense and trouble in maintaining garrisons along the frontier where he was wont to commit his frequent depredations. The governors of the province of Hoquian sent two ships in charge of a Chinese captain, named Omocon, sent by the governor of Chinchiu, who bears the title there of *Yncuanton*, to spy upon Limahon, in order to send a fleet against him. This same Omocon also brought letters containing a pardon from the king, in case he should fall into the hands of Limahon. He brought letters also to the principal married men with Limahon, promising them many things, if they would kill the corsair and return to the service of their king. This Omocon arrived at Pangasinan after the burning of the enemy's fleet, and after the attack made on the fort the first day. He spoke with the master-of-camp asserting that their enemy was a pirate; and that if the Spaniards would take him prisoner or kill him, the king of China would recompense them by entering into friendly and brotherly relations with them. He also said that monuments would be set up in the king's city, and in other public places, with inscriptions describing the heroic feats of the Castilians, who would not come to terms with Limahon, but on the contrary had killed him in order to do the king of China a favor. This Omocon, when he saw that the corsair was defeated and without any hope of getting ships, and ascertained that Limahon could not engage in a pitched battle, and concluding that the consummation had come, said that he would go to notify the *Yncuanton* of Chinchiu. Then he offered to take some of the religious with him, saying that he would take as many as wished to go. Accordingly the master-of-camp sent him to Manila, and

men falsified the letters given them by Guido de Laveçares, writing others that said that they were at the front, and fought valiantly, encouraging the Castilians when the latter burned the fleet and demolished the fort; as a reward for which they gave in money, to each one, besides the captaincy, four hundred silver taes, each tae of the value of twelve Castilian reals. These captains had with them as captain-general another Chinese, named Siaogo, an insignificant, mean-looking, little old man. It is said that he had been a corsair when young. When these people came to this island and learned that Limahon had gone, they cried for very rage and bitterness – especially Omocon, who had solemnly averred that the corsair could not escape. They brought a slight present with them, of a few pieces of silk and cotton shawls, and also letters. A part of the present was for the governor, another for the master-of-camp, another for the captains, and the rest for the soldiers. Their portion was given to the captains by the Chinese and friars. That which was destined for the governor I received, and am sending it by this same packet to your Majesty, so that you may see their way of doing things. I am sending also some cloth, such as they wear, five bonnets, a belt that indicates that the wearer is a captain, and the original letters that came from China translated into Spanish – one of them having the equivalent Spanish words under the Chinese – and the letter telling about the present. From these it will be seen that their writing does not consist of letters, but of syllables or symbols. They brought with them thirteen horses as a present or as purchases. These beasts are full of bad habits, like those of Galicia. One horse was given there and

here to the governor, and was delivered to the officials of your Majesty's royal estate, that they may sell it, and place the proceeds in the box with the three keys. The rest of the horses were sent to their respective owners.

39. These ten ships brought some merchandise to sell, although but little, which they sold at very high rates. They are a mean, impudent people, as well as very importunate. They remained in this port more than six months, and demanded a present to carry back with them – saying that the good will of their commanders would thus be gained; and that, if this present were made to them, it would stand the Spaniards in good stead in their land. Inasmuch as it was reported that Limahon had fled, and as these people are as cowardly as Indians, they begged me to write to China that Limahon was dead. For this purpose, they tried to procure many human heads, which many natives of this land are wont to keep as treasures, in order to declare that they had that of Limahon. They made a false seal, claiming that it had belonged to Limahon, from whom they had taken it. They endeavored to have me write to China from here after this manner, but I always told them, whenever they broached the subject, that the Castilians did not know how to lie, and that we could not discuss such trivial matters. I consulted the captains and religious concerning the present, and we agreed that it was not convenient to send one, but that we would furnish them with provisions. Therefore we supplied them generously, and they left this port on the fourth of May of the year seventy-six. They took with them two fathers, Fray Martin de Errada and Fray Augustin de Alburquerque, and my letters, a copy of which

I am sending, as well as an order for the fathers to remain there to preach. The Chinese did not take any Spaniards with them; however, they begged for some of our people, later, thinking that the latter would take something to give them or which they could seize. During their stay here I treated them very well, but there is no way of softening their hearts, except by means of gifts – although, to my way of thinking, weapons would avail more.

40. The kingdom of China is very large. It is a two days' journey from the head of this island thither for Spanish ships. Sailing from this port one day until one loses sight of land, on the next day China is seen. They themselves call their country "the kingdom of Taibiu;" those of the Yndias, and other peoples, call it China. This means "a very remote land," just as in Castilla they called Nueva España and Peru "Las Antillas." Throughout these islands they call the Chinese "Sangleyes," meaning "a people who come and go," on account of their habit of coming annually to these islands to trade – or, as they say there, "the regular post." Here they style the Portuguese, "Parangue," taking the name from *margaritas* [pearls]. They were given this name, because they were the first who sold pearls. The captains describe the kingdom of Taibiu in the following manner:

It has fifteen provinces, with viceroys, while the people out-number those of Germany. The king is now a child of thirteen. He has a mother and tutors, and it is about three years since his father died. The people are light complexioned, well-built, and robust. There are some who resemble mulattoes, who are badly treated.

41. The men and women both wear long garments, like the one that I am sending so that your Majesty may see it. All wear wide trousers [Sp. *çaragueles*], black or white felt hose, and shoes. The country is cold like España, but there are some warm regions. It has a great many people.

42. They are heathens, and do absurd things. They do not use the rosary, and have no religious observances or ornate temples. If some temples do exist, only mechanical rites are performed in them. They are a vile people, and are sodomites, as is affirmed by Spaniards who have seen young boys present themselves before the justice to ask the amount of the fine for the crime of violation, and frankly pay it. They are all tyrants, especially those in authority, who oppress the poor heavily.

43. They are a cowardly people – so much so, that none ride on horseback, although there are many horses there, because they do not dare to mount them. They do not carry weapons, nor do they use spurs on the horses. They use the whip and bridle, which do not have much effect on the horse.

44. There are a great many robbers or highwaymen, robbing along the highways or off them. They are very lazy; they do not cultivate the ground unless some one forces them to it, and they do not collect the harvest. They sell their children, in case of poverty, for a small sum of money with which to buy food.

45. All the land belongs to the king, and no one in all the kingdom owns a handful of earth; accordingly each man must pay, in proportion to the amount of land that he uses, tribute to the king.

46. They know nothing, unless it be to read and

write; and those who can do this well are made great captains by the king.

47. They talk slowly, very explosively, and arrogantly. Our manner of writing astonishes these people, as well as our way of living, which they think better than their own.

48. When they effect a cure by blood-letting, they scrape the skin until the blood comes, and with lighted wicks cauterize the wounds; they also give the patient certain potions about which they have learned by experience.

49. They always drink hot water. They heat this on the fire, and water their wine, which they drink hot. They pretend to a knowledge of chiromancy, but know nothing about it.

50. They are very superstitious in casting lots. When they crossed the bar of this port, this superstition affected the flagship in which the fathers had embarked, and the captain had to have the lot taken by divination, and had the friars, whom he was carrying, changed to another ship. However, the truth is that the change was made so that they would have more freedom to pursue their customary vices.

51. They are very submissive to authority, and patiently suffer the punishments inflicted. For a very slight offense an ear will be cut off, or a hundred lashes of the whip given. The land is fertile. The horses are small and the cows are like those of Berberia. It is reported that farther inland are horses capable of bearing armed men.

52. No sheep are found along the coast, but there are said to be some inland. On my asking them what Castilian products were lacking in their country, they replied, "None whatever, unless it be

velvet;" and they say that they do not have this, because they do not know how to make it, but that if they could see that manufacture, they would learn it.

53. They say that inland there are vines from which they make wine, and olives. At the rear, this kingdom joins Tartaria; and a great many years ago, they do not know how many, the natives established the king of Tartaria in Taybiu, and he and his descendants ruled it for one hundred and seventy years, until, after four generations, they were expelled. Now one of the descendants of the native kings of Taybiu reigns, and wages constant war with the Tartars, of whom they say they are not afraid. They can reckon time only by the years of their king, and therefore lose count easily; for, as soon as one king dies, no further mention is made of him, and they reckon time by the first or second year of the reign of the new king, and no other memory of the preceding king endures. In another manner they reckon the months by moons, and have eleven months to the year. It is quite usual for that land to change masters; but it has always had a king, either of their own nation or a foreigner. They count as their New Year's the first of February.

54. The king and the chief priest dress in yellow, as a mark of distinction, no one else being allowed to use this color.

55. The smallest province has more inhabitants than Nueva España and Piru together. The cities are large, but contain mean little houses. The people are generally poor. There are no gold or silver coins, but everything is sold by weight. There are some copper and bronze coins for small change. There is gold and a great deal of silver. One peso

[weight] of gold is worth four pesos of silver, according to their calculation. For so many pesos of silver so many of silk are obtained, and so with other things.

56. Everything is sold by weight, even wood and chickens, and all other things; they are sold very cheaply, for land is very cheap.

57. Wheat and rice are raised abundantly. There are mines of gold, silver, quicksilver, copper, lead, tin, and all the metals.

58. It takes a week, generally, to make the voyage from Manila to Chiunchiu [the modern Chwan-Chow-Foo], a distance of about one hundred and forty leagues. It is said that the journey has been made in fair weather in six days, and has never required more than ten.

59. These people never travel by water except during the months of the bonanças, which I have explained. Their ships cannot stand the wind astern, because both bow and stern have the same form and are flat, like a square table; they are so made in order that either end can be used. They navigate always, in either direction, by means of side-winds. These vessels rock to and fro, like cradles with oars.

60. The sails of their ships are made of bamboo, like matting. They do not use a yard on the mast, but raise the mainsail on the mast fastened to a pole as an infantry flag is placed on a pike; and the sheets hang down from the other side with which the sail is turned to this or that side, according to the direction of the wind. The sail is half the width of the ship, and the mast is large and high. The sail is raised by means of a windlass, which contrivance is used also for a capstan. The rigging is made of reeds

and grass, which grow wild. The mast is stepped about two-thirds of the length of the ship nearer the prow, in order that the ship may pitch forward. The foremast is not stationary, being moved to port or starboard, according to the weather or other requirements. The sheets are worked in the same way. The compass is divided for fewer directions than ours. They also use stern-masts as mizzen-masts, which, like that at the bow, are changed from one side to the other, so that they do not need quadrants. They go from one side to the other with the wind which helps them. They use two oars at the bow to turn the ship, and two others at the stern that assist the sailing. The compass consists of a small earthenware jar, on which the directions are marked. This jar is filled with water and the magnetized needle placed in it. Sometimes before they happen to strike it right, they could go to the bottom twenty times, thus, although it is marvelous, considering that they are a barbarous people, that they should understand the art of navigation, it is very surprising to see how barbarous are their methods.

61. All their arms, for both sea and land, are fire-bombs. They have quantities of gunpowder, in the shape of loaves. Their artillery, although not large, is poor. They have also, and quite commonly poor, culverins and arquebuses, so that they depend mainly on their lances. I am informed that they do not fear the arquebuses very much, because they themselves are so poor shots with them, and are amazed at seeing a hen or a pigeon killed with an arquebuse-shot. They fear lances more than other weapons.

62. The chief captains and the king never cut their finger-nails, and allow one to grow as long as

the finger, and longer. These go to war seated in chairs, carried on the shoulders of other men. They frequently become intoxicated, and are very libidinous. They guard their women very carefully. The women also do not cut their finger-nails. When daughters are born to people of rank, they compress the child's feet by the toes, so that they cannot grow; and the girl cannot stand on them, but is always carried about seated. For this reason, these women never leave the house.

63. The men have as many wives as they can support. They wear their hair long, gathered up on top of the head, as women dress their hair.

64. None but a few principal people ever see the face of the king, and those only who are near him. His face is always covered when he goes out, and he is accompanied by a numerous guard.

65. The king resides in the province of Paquian, in a city called Quincay, mentioned by Marco Polo, the Venetian,^{3*} in his second book, and sixty-fourth chapter. According to the account given by these people, their country must have been ruled by the

^{3*} Marco Polo, the noted Venetian traveler, was born about 1256, and died in his native city in 1323. His father and uncle were also travelers; they went to Tartary in 1255, returning to Europe in 1269, as envoys from the noted Kublai Khan. Two years later, they returned to the court of that ruler, accompanied by the young Marco; and they remained in the service of the Mongol emperor until 1292, when they returned to Venice. Marco's account of his travels and observations was written as early as 1307. A Latin version of it was published in Antwerp, about 1485; and one in Italian at Venice, in 1496. Many other editions and translations of it have since been issued — perhaps the most notable being that by G. Pauthier (Paris, 1865). See this editor's account of Polo and of his work, in Hoefer's *Nouvelle biographie générale*, t. xxxix, art. Polo; Pauthier shows that this work must have been originally written in French. Kublai Khan at that time had his capital at Peking, not at Kinsze.

Tartars before Marco Polo made that voyage, because in his history he refers to the master of this city, and of others in the kingdom, as "the great Khan." I believe that the strange people and language must have changed the names of many of the provinces in his time. Although he writes briefly, and in such a way that it seems but nonsense, still it is true that this city does exist; and, according to the statements of the Chinese, the name means in their language "City of Heaven," as says Marco Polo. This city of Quincay, as nearly as we can learn, seems to be somewhat less than five hundred leagues from Manila, which is to those living here as Cales and the mainland of España, and if more of our people could go in one virey, everything would be changed. These people do not extol Quincay less than Marco Polo does.

66. Marco Polo says that there are in that city Nestorian Christians. The people here cannot pronounce the name, but claim that there are people in it from all over the world in great numbers. The people there are very vicious, as are those in these islands, which are really an archipelago of China, and their inhabitants are one people with the Chinese – as are those of Candia and of Constantinople, who are all Greeks.

67. There are walls in the city formed of smooth, dry stone, well placed on the outside. The food consists mainly of fish, for which they go out into the sea to a distance of twenty leagues. Whoever should prove master of the sea might do with them as he wished – especially along their coast, which extends north and south for more than five hundred leagues, where one may work daily havoc. Their garrisons of soldiers along the coast are worthless, for they are

treated only as the servants of the commanders, and are overburdened; the result is that the lowest and most abused people among the Chinese are the soldiers.

68. The people generally have no weapons, nor do they use any. A corsair with two hundred men could rob a large town of thirty thousand inhabitants. They are very poor marksmen, and their arquebuses are worthless.

69. The trade with China is very disadvantageous to the Spaniards, as well as to the inhabitants of these islands; for the only useful thing that they bring is iron, and nothing else. Their silks are of poor quality; and they take away our gold and silver. Just so long as their intercourse with us endures without war, just so much the more skilful will they become; and all the less fear will they have of those with whom they have traded.

70. Some Indians, Japanese, and Chinese told me here that the Portuguese have taken weapons to China, especially arquebuses such as we use; and a Chinese sold me a Portuguese broadsword. The Portuguese could teach them the use of large artillery, how to manage the horse, and other things equally injurious to us. As they are merchants, it would not be surprising that they should do so. Does not your Majesty think that it would be well to hasten this expedition, and to do so at once? For, in truth, it is the most important thing that could happen for the service of God and of your Majesty. We are told that there are millions of men, and that their tribute to their king is thirty millions or more.

71. The equipments necessary for this expedition are four or six thousand men, armed with lances and

arquebuses, and the ships, artillery, and necessary munitions.

72. With two or three thousand men one can take whatever province he pleases, and through its ports and fleet render himself the most powerful on the sea. This will be very easy. In conquering one province, the conquest of all is made.

73. The people would revolt immediately, for they are very badly treated. They are infidels, and poor; and, finally, the kind treatment, the evidences of power, and the religion which we shall show to them will hold them firmly to us.

74. There is enough wood in these islands, and enough men to make a great fleet of galleys. In all the islands a great many corsairs live, from whom also we could obtain help for this expedition, as also from the Japanese, who are the mortal enemies of the Chinese. All would gladly take part in it. Some native corsairs would also join us, and introduce us into the country.

75. The war with this nation is most just, for it gives freedom to poor, wretched people who are killed, whose children are ravished by strangers, and whom judges, rulers, and king treat with unheard-of tyranny. Each speaks ill of his neighbor; and almost all of them are pirates, when any occasion arises, so that none are faithful to their king. Moreover, a war could be waged against them because they prohibit people from entering their country. Besides, I do not know, nor have I heard of, any wickedness that they do not practice; for they are idolators, sodomites, robbers, and pirates, both by land and sea. And in fact the sea, which ought to be free according to the law of nations, is not so, as far as the Chinese

are concerned; for whosoever navigates within their reach is killed and robbed, if they can do it. One day I called Captain Omocon, telling him in confidence that I wished to send a ship to trade with China, and he told me in friendship and all sincerity not to send that galley until I had ten more well equipped to accompany it; for the Chinese were so evilly inclined that, they would under some pretext try to attack and capture it, in order to rob it of its goods, and make slaves of the crew. It is safe to say that, no matter what good we might do them, they will always give us daily a thousand causes for a just war. Now my opinion is, may it please your Majesty, that it would be an advantage to have a sufficient force of soldiers, so that, under any circumstance whatsoever, they may find us ready.

76. Moreover, we live so near them that in five days they can come hither in their ships, while we in two days can sail in ours from one coast to the other; and, as we have seen, they are wont to commit depredations (as was the case in this city). Therefore, this course of action will quite prevent the execution of their plans, which I know – namely, that if they are able they will kill me, and are seeking occasion for it.

77. I offer myself to serve your Majesty in this expedition, which I desire so much that I cannot overrate it. If for this reason your Majesty is inclined to put less trust in me as a loyal vassal and servant, let some one else to your liking take charge of this expedition, even if I do not go on it, provided it is undertaken at your Majesty's command. Since I shall have been your Majesty's impelling motive, I shall remain satisfied; and it will be a sufficient reward for my poor services to have recommended

it so earnestly in this manner. If it had pleased God to endow me with great wealth, I would not hesitate to spend on this expedition my entire patrimony, whenever your Majesty should so command. In beginning a battle, the business would be finished, for there is not a man in that whole kingdom who has an income of one hundred ducats or a palm's length of land; nor is there one who considers it a disgrace to be given two hundred lashes. They are a mercenary horde, accustomed to serve foreigners.

78. The kingdom inland, from what I have learned from men who know, is not so large, nor does it extend so far as they say – namely, that it requires a journey of seven months to reach the place where the king lives. There are about five hundred leagues of seacoast running north and south. It is wonderful to see the number of people and the eagerness that they display in their duties and occupations. Besides the ordinary tribute, they say that the king has a million paid soldiers to oppose the Tartars, at the wall ⁴ made by both nations. With this I send a Chinese map, from which one can learn something, although the Chinese are so barbarous, as will be seen from their papers.

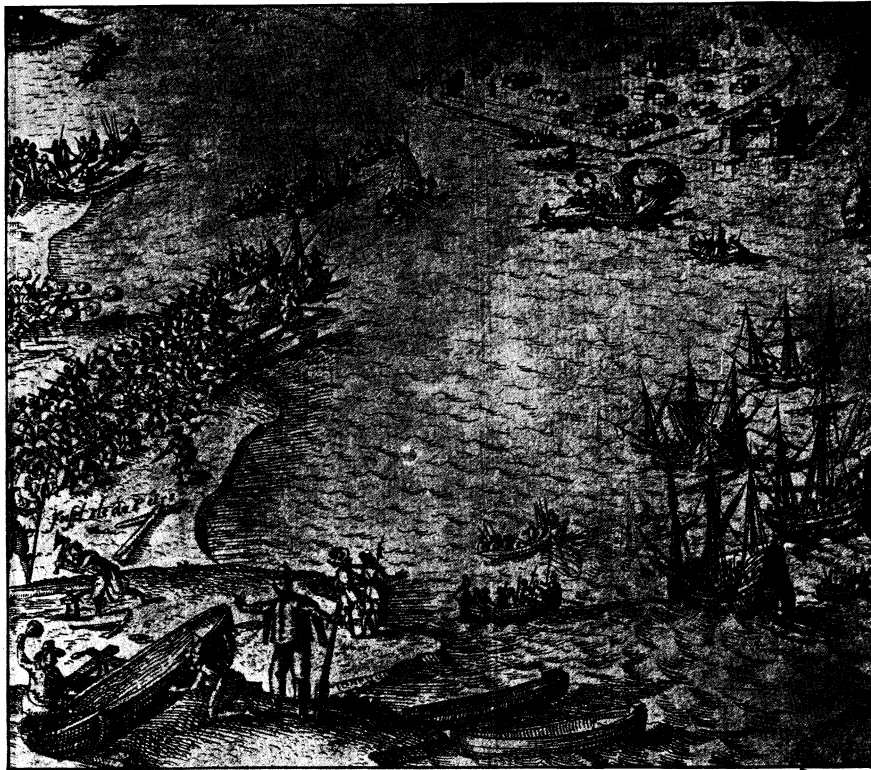
79. In a letter from China, from the Yncuanton (as they are barbarians, and the real information that they possess of us is that our numbers are but two hundred men), he states (I know not what the words are, but they mean “tribute”), that a present taken by the Chinese the past year, before my arrival, was

⁴ The Great Wall of China was constructed during the reign of Hoangti, the second emperor of the Tsin dynasty (about 244 to 210 B. C.); it was built to protect the Chinese land from the invasions of the Tartar hordes on the west and north, among whom were those later known as Huns.

placed in the king's treasury. As Omocon falsified the letters that he took from here, as the friars told me on their return, and as he even stole a large part of that present—he must have said, that it was through his efforts that the fleet of the corsair Limahon was burned, when he joined the Castilians; and that the latter would send the corsair to their king. Afterward they tried to induce us to write from here in accordance with their desires, as I have said before. I treated them kindly, but the council decided that the Chinese should take no present, since it might happen that they would steal it; but that two priests should go to that land, who should carry letters and instructions from me, and should send back an answer, to ensure better success.

80. It is said that every three years the king changes the viceroys in China, because of his knowledge that they have robbed the whole country; also that those in command there resist the king's authority, as soon as they end their terms of office, and persuade others to do the same. In short, as no one can or does speak to the king or his viceroys except through a third party, they never tell the truth, and thus the whole country is in a state of infidelity and barbarism.

81. Concerning the demarcations, it is perfectly clear that the Malucos and all the rest extending from Malaca toward this direction, including Burney, the whole coast of China, Lequios, the Japanese islands, and Nueva Guinea are in the demarcation of your Majesty. The Portuguese pass the limits of their demarcation by more than five hundred leagues, and are busied in fortifying themselves. However, it is not necessary to take any notice of their fortifications;



View of Mallaca – Levinus Hulsius (Franckfurt
am Mayn, 1612)

[From original in Harvard University Library]

for, if ordered to do so, we can go to Maluco very easily. We are only awaiting the will of your Majesty. The Chinese bring here quantities of pepper which, as well as cloves, they sell for four reals a libra – and one hundred nutmegs for the same amount. This year, they told us, there are no Portuguese in China; for they all gathered at Malaca, because of the war waged against them by the king of Achen. Others who have come here, have told us that they were not in Malaca either; but I did not believe it. I believe only that the Chinese like our trade better because of the silver from Mexico and the gold from these regions; and that business with the Portuguese is business transacted with corsairs. Among other reasons why your Majesty should, without hesitation, despatch troops as soon as possible to this land, is that the king of Achen – who is a wretched, little, naked, barefooted Moro – is treating the Portuguese very badly. This ill-treatment arises from the fact that five or six hundred Turkish arquebusiers have come to him from Mec[c]a, and with their help he is conquering all the region thereabout. This territory is about the same distance from Malaca as Berberia is from Andalucia. Malaca is on the coast of China itself, which at that point turns toward the north. In that region we find two more petty kings, one of Çian [Siam] and the other of Patan [Pahang?], both Moros. They are about three hundred leagues from us here, while about one hundred and fifty leagues from us is the king of Borneo – who is also a Moro, and in constant communication with the first named kings; and the whole archipelago would very willingly render obedience and pay tribute to him, if we were not here. These

Moros of Borneo preach the doctrine of Mahoma, converting all the Moros of these islands. I have investigated the matter so that, whenever God pleases, if we have forts and troops in this land, we might aid the Portuguese, in order that the petty king of Achen might be subdued – who persistently continues to send out his Mahometan preachers. As I before remarked, he has Turks in his service; accordingly, by depriving them of that vantage-point, the passage would be closed, and neither Turks nor Moros could travel from Malaca to this place. These are the most dangerous people, and know the use of all manner of arms, and of horses. Waiting for the Portuguese to do something is a weariness to the flesh, for they are a poor people at best. Nearly all the inhabitants here were born in Yndia, and are children of Indians.

Condition of the Country

82. These Philipinas islands are numerous and very extensive. The climate is hot and damp. There is no protection from the sun, as the houses are built of stakes and bamboo and the roofs are made of palm leaves. Notwithstanding all this the country is healthy. At night there is an agreeable temperature, and during the day are the flood-tides of the sea. There is water in abundance. The evening dew is not harmful. If there were the same protection from the sun that exists in Sevilla, this country would be as healthy – and some places more so, if one lives temperately (especially as regards continence), and does not imbibe too freely; for the penalty for immoderate living is death. The food here is rice, which is the bread of this country. It is cultivated

in the following manner. They put a basketful of it into the river to soak. After a few days they take it from the water; what is bad and has not sprouted is thrown away. The rest is put on a bamboo mat and covered with earth, and placed where it is kept moist by the water. After the sprouting grains have germinated sufficiently, they are transplanted one by one, as lettuce is cultivated in España. In this way they have abundance of rice in a short time. There is another crop of rice, which grows of itself, but it is not so abundant. Wine is made from the cocoa-palm, from rice, and from millet, and they have *ajonjolí* ^{4*}—but of all these only a little, because the people are Indians. There is plenty of fish, but it is not so good as that of España. The same fowl are found here as in Castilla, but they are much better than those of Castilla. There are many swine, deer, and buffalo, but he who wishes them must kill them himself, because no native will kill or hunt them. Meat spoils very quickly here on account of the heat.

83. The soil is very fertile—better than that of Nueva España; and the rains come at about the same season. There is no such thing as a bad year, unless some hurricane works damage.

84. The people here are naked, and barefoot. They wrap a cotton cloth around their loins. Those who possess such a thing wear a little cotton or China silk shirt. They are people capable of much toil. Some are Moros, and they obtain much gold, which they worship as a god. All their possessions are gold and a few slaves, the latter being worth among them five or six pesos each. They do not let their

^{4*} The oil extracted from sesame (*Sesamum indicum*); it is used by the natives for the hair, and in medicine.

hair hang but wind a small turban about the head. They believe that paradise and successful enterprises are reserved for those who submit to the religion of the Moros of Borneo, of which they make much account. They do not eat pork, and believe many foolish notions that tend toward superstition. These are a richer people, because they are merchants, and, with their slaves, cultivate the land. There are other natives who tattoo themselves, and wear long hair, as the Chinese do. They are a poorer and fiercer race. All carry weapons, such as daggers and lances, and possess some artillery. No reliance can ever be placed on either of these races. They all settle on the shores of rivers, on account of the convenience for their fields, and because they can communicate with one another, and go in their little boats to steal. They hardly ever travel by land. Inland in the islands, and away from the rivers, dwells another race who resemble the Chichimecos⁵ of Nueva España, very savage and cruel, among whom are some negroes. All use bows and arrows, and consider it very meritorious to kill men, in order to keep the heads of the slain as ornaments for their houses. They are the most despised people in these islands, and are called *Tinguianes*,⁶ or "mountaineers;" for

⁵ Chichimecos (meaning "braves") was a term applied to all the wild tribes of Mexico; it was also used specially to designate the hunting and pastoral tribes in the northern provinces of the present country of Mexico — who, according to Humboldt (*New Spain*, Black's trans., London, 1811, i, p. 133), came to that country about 1170. See also G. P. Winship's *Coronado Expedition* (Washington, 1896), p. 524.

⁶ A Malayan tribe, living in the provinces of Abra and Ilocos, in Luzón. See Sawyer's account of them, in his *Inhabitants of Philippines* (N. Y., 1900), pp. 275-280.

tingue means "mountain." They have quantities of honey and wax, and trade these commodities with the lowlanders. As these islands are so fertile, there are large groves which are called *arcabucos* ["thickets"]. Thus there are no open roads, for which reason the Spaniards experience difficulty in moving rapidly on land, while the natives can easily flee from one end to the other.

85. Most of the Indians are heathens, but have no intelligent belief, or any ceremonies. They believe in their ancestors, and when about to embark upon some enterprise commend themselves to these, asking them for aid. They are greatly addicted to licentiousness and drunkenness, and are accustomed to plunder and cheat one another. They are all usurers, lending money for interest and go even to the point of making slaves of their debtors, which is the usual method of obtaining slaves. Another way is through their wars, whether just or unjust. Those who are driven on their coast by storms are made slaves by the inhabitants of that land. They are so mercenary that they even make slaves of their own brothers, through usury. They do not understand any kind of work, unless it be to do something actually necessary—such as to build their houses, which are made of stakes after their fashion; to fish, according to their method; to row, and perform the duties of sailors; and to cultivate the land. The mountaineers make iron lance-points, daggers, and certain small tools used in transplanting rice. They are very anxious to possess artillery, of which they cast a little, although but poorly. They are all a miserable race. Although the Pintados behave better to the Spaniards, yet, whenever they find one

alone, they kill him, and the Moros do the same whenever they can.

86. When Miguel Lopez de Legazpi came to these islands, he settled in the island of Cebu, which is very barren and small. When he went thence, he went to Panay, on account of the war waged against him by the Portuguese, and the famine there, which was very severe. With but little acuteness, he established a settlement in Cebu, with about fifty inhabitants; and built a little fort of stakes, which soon tumbled down. Although the country is healthful, it is so barren that no one cares to live there; neither is it an important place. I have established this place and rebuilt the ruined fortress; and I have placed there an alcalde mayor and about fifty soldiers who have pacified those natives. The latter had risen in rebellion, at the opportunity afforded by the tyrant Limahon. That islet is next another called Mindanao, a large and rich island – where, God willing, we must make an expedition soon. This settlement is of no advantage, and causes expense and no gain, beyond saying that it is near Maluco; nor does it possess other good qualities than that it claims to have a good climate and port.

87. The Malucos are nearer to Nueva España than this city is, by two hundred leagues; so that it would be easier and shorter to reach them from Nueva España. On returning, the season could be chosen better, as there are no channels or islands to go through, as we have here. Among these islands there are certain currents which flow more rapidly than those of any river. One cannot believe this unless one actually sees it. And as the archipelago is so extensive, at the doubling of each promontory it is

needful to choose a different time for sailing. For this reason we need vessels with oars. Meanwhile, unless your Majesty orders it, we shall not go to Maluco. If we had to go there, it would be better to locate in that village in Mindanao, which is well supplied with provisions and where there are people. It is more than one hundred leagues nearer than Maluco.

88. When your Majesty was pleased to give Miguel Lopez de Legaspi permission to divide the land into encomiendas, he did so in accordance with the wishes of the few men whom he had, assigning two or three thousand natives as an encomienda to four or eight men. These natives were not pacified, conquered, or even seen, so that the people asked and still ask for soldiers to visit and pacify them, in regard to which there is much trouble here. It was agreed that eight thousand tributarios should be given as an encomienda to the master-of-camp, four thousand to the captains, three thousand to men of rank, and so on to the different classes, according to their position. This caused trouble immediately because the generality of people and soldiers are not willing to acknowledge so many people superior to themselves. It is impossible to pursue the procedure adopted. Again, complaints are heard that fewer Indians are given to one than to another, and that those taken from their encomienda, as is commonly asserted, swell the encomiendas of other persons. All these were things not well understood at that time. They were not discussed in the residencia,⁷ in order

⁷ The residencia is a Spanish institution, dating as far back as the fourteenth century, although its beginnings may be traced to the Visigothic codes. It required a judge or a governor, at the end

not to arouse dissension. I tell all this to your Majesty so that you may know the condition of affairs here. If I could, I would reform matters so that good sense should conquer.

89. He [Legazpi] was also wont to maintain a number of gentlemen, who had nothing more to do than to act as sentinels for him alone. They were considered as of higher rank, as above said, and even more; and they ate with him at his table. They were ordinarily young men recommended to him by others from Mexico. They were thus set above their fellows, which occasioned considerable trouble – even resulting once in the garrotting of one from Cadiz. These men always accompanied the governor in his walks, for he went afoot, because there were no horses; and they were supported from your Majesty's treasury. It has seemed to me a gracious act toward the people to entrust my person to them all; and that those appointed by the sergeant-major in turn, from the different companies, should perform sentinel duty at my house – in order to relieve your Majesty's royal estate of this traffic and expense; and to obviate this envy and the too great equality caused by seating common people at the table. Then, too, I ride on horseback whenever I go out; and no one would wish to attend me except my servants. Therefore this guard, as was necessary, ceases to exist. I rely on the fidelity of the sentinels, and will

of a term of office, to reside for a certain time (usually thirty or fifty days) at the chief place where he had exercised his functions. During that time, complaints of his conduct might be made by any person aggrieved, before an official appointed for that purpose. The *residencia* was a prominent feature of Spanish colonial administration. See Helps's *Spanish Conquest in America*, iii, ch. iii, for an account of this institution.

rely on any person who refrains from possessions and honor not his own, and sets a good example.

90. For the reason above stated – that repartimientos were made by Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, and afterward by Guido de Lavesares, of places never pacified or even seen – there are many encomenderos who have no food, and who, whenever any district is pacified of late, demand that it be given to them by virtue of that encomienda, to the prejudice of those who go to pacify and cultivate it. Consequently, notwithstanding that I have not yet seen the river of Vindanao, as above stated, I must send men there. They have divided it into encomiendas, and assessed the tax according to the men; just as in districts which are not so large as that one, they come to beg for men, in order to go to collect their tributes and commit various excesses. In accordance with your Majesty's order and commission, I shall grant no encomienda that is not pacified and faithful. I think that this will settle the matter, and that the people will come to understand it. I enclose with this a list of the encomiendas of the country; but all that is a matter of little importance except for the passage from the mainland of China.

91. As I have previously observed, and since all the cost of the exploration and occupancy of these islands has been at your Majesty's expense, those in charge of the government have but ill attended to apportioning Indians to the royal crown; and those allotments were made by way of compliment, and are the worst ones. They relied only on what had to be sent them annually from Nueva España, and on what has come from there; for this land is as sterile as one who lives on charity. Accompanying this is a list of

the income that your Majesty has here. As far as I understand it, there is no account of the number of Indians who are apportioned to the royal crown, and whether or not they wander through the hills, for no one has seen them. To discuss this matter in the residencia would be to excite the people to anger. I thought that it would be all right to do it quietly, and therefore I have apportioned as many as possible to the royal crown. However in regard to this there was trouble enough, for once an office-holder stated in public that, at this rate, all the Indians would belong to the royal crown, and it became necessary to use dissimulation.

92. When Guido de Lavesares was governor he placed to his own credit as many Indians as he saw fit; but I revoked all this, and allotted them to the royal crown. I am sending the records to you; and with whatever it may please your Majesty to give your servants we shall be well satisfied.

93. There is in these islands an abundance of wood and of men, so that a large fleet of boats and galleys may be built. There is a quantity of cheap iron from China, worked by the natives here, who can make what is necessary from it – which they cannot do with Castilian iron, for it is exceedingly hard. We have no pitch, tallow, or rigging worth mention, because what there is is so scarce and poor that it amounts to nothing. There is no oakum for calking. Large anchors cannot be made; but the rest of the tackle can be obtained here in good condition. There is good timber also; to my way of thinking, therefore, the ship that would cost ten thousand ducats in Guatemala, and in Nueva España thirty [thousand], can be made here for two or three [thousand], should

strenuous efforts be employed. When I came here I found the city burned and razed to the ground. I erected shipyards in two places, separating the workmen, so that they might accomplish more if they entered into competition. The one in Manila has turned out a galliot of sixteen or seventeen benches; and has repaired the ship that brought me here, and also one that was made in Acapulco, which I believe cost more than fifteen thousand ducats. They were about to burn the latter ship for the iron that they could thus obtain; but through promises and diligence on my part the keel and stern-post, which were rotten were removed, as well as half the hull of the ship; and, God willing, she will sail from here one month after this ship departs. Almost one braza was cut off near the bow, on account of its unsatisfactory shape; and more than two brazas will be added to the original length. This will make a vessel capable of carrying two hundred soldiers – which, as this ship had been condemned, means that we have, from nothing, made twenty thousand ducats. I found that the ship which had been repaired was destroyed during Limahon's attack. Rigging, masts, sails, and everything else necessary have been placed in it, and the ship is called "Sant Felipe." On finishing this, they will begin to work on another galley; and, besides, will repair another vessel that is rotten, and whose keel, although of a better pattern, will require as much labor as the other. However, God willing, it will be completed by January, so that there will be two galleys here. In Oton, on the island of Panae I have finished another galley, thirty-four varas long, with twenty benches. Still another will be ready by September and I shall continue with the work.

94. I would not dare to employ rowers for this country, since I have so few men now on the Spanish galliots; for it would be possible for them to take flight some day, and to do mischief. All these islands are full of robbers. Having these four galleys I shall, with God's help, man them with friends, and seek equipment for them. It is my plan to build a hundred galleys, and to support them in your Majesty's service from our enemies, if your Majesty would care to provide what is necessary.

95. There is no artilleryman here who knows how to fire or cast artillery, nor is there any artillery. I am writing to the viceroy our needs in this matter. Having learned that the Moros of this country had artillery, I told them that they had nothing to fear now, since we Spaniards are here, who will defend them; and that therefore they should give me their artillery. By very affable address, I have obtained possession of as much as possible, without any harshness, and without seizing any man. I have therefore in the fort, in your Majesty's magazine, four hundred quintals of bronze that seems to be good. It was all taken within the radius of eight leagues. For this reason, and because often some of the pieces burst, we need here at this camp master-workmen to cast artillery. They ought to be sent from España for this purpose so that we should not be deceived about them in Mexico, as we have been in regard to the gunners—who have simply passed by the gunners' barracks, and have never served in the capacity of gunner. Such men we have here, to our great risk and harm. It will be necessary to send fifty gunners. Those who are here must be discharged, or be sent as substitutes for sailors.

96. And because, although I might act as overseer, these things do not form part of my duty, two master-engineers are necessary, who understand how to fortify a town, and everything pertaining thereto. We also need experienced troops, for we are here among enemies and nothing is possessed unless it is held. With regard to the artillery and master-engineers, I implore that your Majesty may be pleased to command that this business be attended to at once; for we are lost here without artillery, which alone can defend the dominions of your Majesty.

97. It is necessary that two masters to build ships and galleys should be sent from Nueva España – so that, if it were necessary, those here, who are becoming lazy, might be changed. It is necessary to change them and to keep them in two shipyards, as I have done, so that the expense at Acapulco, in Nueva España, might cease. All the work done there is thrown away; for the vessels from Nueva España alone detain the workmen here in repairing them, and prevent them from building new ones. We need commanders of galleys who know how to manage the lateen sail.

98. We have no lead here, but it abounds in Nueva España; it will be necessary to order that more than five hundred quintals be brought from that country, for this is our sustenance – besides three hundred quintals of gunpowder, for present use. We need some weapons and armor – some corselets, such as are used in Nueva España, and five hundred lances, which should be brought from Nueva España. Those that we had here were used up, through carelessness and in the encounter with the corsair. Until

now it was not understood that pikes were necessary, because the natives are wont to flee. But now it has been seen that the Chinese attack other men with these weapons, for fear of their commander. Now as there are so few of us, and the country breathes nothing but war, we have not ventured into the forests to see if there is good wood for these lances. For the lack of these lances here, we have no lance-practice, nor is there a squadron to train the soldiers; although, because of the great need, I have contrived to make some lances from poles and bamboo, with iron and steel from China. I have made one hundred iron points. I do not dare to issue orders for target-practice (which the young soldiers need especially), not even for a day, in order not to use up my miserably small quantity of powder and lead.

99. Because of the many hardships in this country, the soldier must be ready at any moment to execute the commands of those in authority. For this reason, we find the consignments of married men a great inconvenience; for they are not of much use here, as they are generally very poor and old. It seems to me that, for the present, we do not require the services of married men, unless there might be some one of the nobility, whose family would set a good example.

100. As the soldiers suffer so many hardships, they become sick; and although many even die, they are all so poor that they cannot leave anything. They have no medicines, and are always ready to beg them, as they have no other resource. When I came, I had a hospital built; but the corsair burned it. This served as a lodging-place for poor people; and, for this purpose, I brought a man from Nueva España

to attend the sick. We who are here consider this an excellent institution, and, because without an endowment there would be no hospital when a soldier was dying, I apportioned about one thousand Indians to the hospital, whom it now enjoys because of this need. For the future, will your Majesty please order that a sum sufficient for its needs be paid from the treasury, and that those Indians be apportioned to the royal crown. We need also another house for convalescents where they may be compelled to follow a certain diet, such as a bit of fowl. When I find a little leisure from so many toils, I will build such a house, and establish suitable rules regarding the food. Thus, besides the service of God, many can be supplied with food, by means of the person who conducts the house.

101. It is necessary to maintain suitable order for the conservation of the fort and artillery; and, as an inducement for those soldiers who perform sentinel duty there, and the gunners who serve there, to live within the fort, it is necessary to maintain them at the separate expense of the fort. It is necessary also that, for the same purpose, the governor of the fort should keep it in repair; and these expenses should not be confused with those of your Majesty's treasury of the three keys. I have discovered by experience that each account divided by itself is much more satisfactory.

102. I have set about fortifying this city; but this work is not yet completed, as the site is large, and I would not leave the friars outside, from whom we all receive our instruction; moreover, we have had so much work and hardship, and the Indians help us but little, and I do not wish them to neglect their fields. It will, however, soon be completed. It will

be a palisade joined with keys, all along the shore and across the river; and a cavalier ⁸ for defense – where some artillery is to be mounted when the Indians have gathered in their harvest – will be completed very soon. Likewise twenty thousand fanégas of rice for the support of your Majesty's camp and fleet will be stored away.

103. The province which, in all this island of Luçon, produces most grain is that called Pampanga. It has two rivers, one called Bitis [Betis] and the other Lubao, along whose banks dwell three thousand five hundred Moros, more or less, all tillers of the soil, and taxed to the value of eight reals each. This city and all this region is provided with food – namely, rice, which is the bread here – by this province; so that if the rice harvest should fail there, there would be no place where it could be obtained. Throughout the province there are not sufficient Indians belonging to the royal crown who could give one thousand fanégas of income to your Majesty. These two rivers were not included in the encomiendas made by the late Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, governor of these islands (who apportioned a part of that province), in order that he might request them from your Majesty for himself. After his death, Guido de Lavasares, who succeeded him, placed them openly to his own account, and apportioned the rest; but I revoked the decree, and apportioned them to the royal crown of your Majesty, where they are now; and the officials of the royal exchequer have collected their tribute from them

⁸ “In fortification, a work of extraordinary height, overlooking the surrounding parts as a horseman overlooks foot-soldiers.” (Webster's *Dictionary*.)

this year. It seems that your Majesty has been pleased to bestow this encomienda upon the son of the defunct adelantado, Legaspi. If this should pass to him – as it is only reasonable to expect that it should, since such is your Majesty's pleasure, and it is a favor to the children of him who died in your Majesty's service – it would be most serious damage to the condition of these islands. For not only has your Majesty no income in grain, nor any place from which to obtain it, but these Indians, as they are near, work very well, when told that they are tributarios of your Majesty; and they serve in cutting wood, and do other things which are very useful and important here. If perchance the heir of the defunct governor should come to ask for his rights, I believe that it would be well to ask him to do us the favor of waiting until this point in my letter can be answered. Some plan might be arranged, if it pleased your Majesty, so that he should be recompensed in Nueva España. This will prove advantageous, since this encomienda has been already allotted to the royal crown. I entreat your Majesty to please to have the matter examined, because it is important. For this reason I mention here the number of Indians, and their tributes. It is a healthful and rich land.

104. The provinces in these islands that would be profitable to settle are those that can maintain the Spaniards and can provide them with food. If these are not colonized by us, the Indians will continue their old mode of life, which means attacking others. For this reason, it would be well to grant some lands, but with discretion, so that we shall not be separated; for each by itself would prove but a weak community, as happened on the appearance of the corsair. For

this reason and because there have always been foreign ships here, I have delayed effecting settlements until we have more people. I have attempted to send leaders and men through those districts, so that the land might be made peaceful; and for this purpose have sent one troop to Cebu, another to Camarines, and another to Ylocos. We are always busy.

105. According to the accounts of the royal exchequer, your Majesty will see that Guido de Lavesares and Legazpi have been in the habit of allowing gratuities and other free sums from the royal treasury. I have not continued these, but have closed the door on all this, in order not to give them. However, as the friars insist that it be given and spent in sermons, I have, without consulting them made a decree to the effect that only the needy poor should receive alms, and the gift must be for their support. I ordered a list of the poor to be made and rice to be given them, as is given to others who are supplied with rations from the royal treasury. Thereupon some persons came, and have received alms. Those who begged only for gaming and other like purposes are ashamed to take that alms, and wish nothing but encomiendas. I have stated all this to your Majesty so that you may be pleased to send me special instructions concerning these charities and gratuities, so that in a just case actually seen, and in certain necessities and calamities, attested to before notary and witnesses, I might be empowered to furnish aid of weapons and clothing – always prohibiting the giving of money even for once, or the income from the chest with three keys, for this is harmful.

106. When an encomendero dies in Nueva España, his Indians are allotted to the royal crown of

your Majesty, as being in a simple and peaceful country, where there is no need of soldiers. In these islands I think that this would be impossible; and I would not dare do it until I receive an answer from your Majesty ordering me to do so. For, as so many men die here, all the encomiendas would belong to your Majesty in four years; and the soldiers would have an incentive to attempt the deaths of others. I notify your Majesty concerning this so that you may order how I am to proceed. I have planned to correct with gentleness the harm already done in apportioning villages to the royal crown, by taking care that they be near and convenient to the districts where the Spaniards will reside, and where the fleets will be stationed. Some of those situated in more remote districts I have granted. As time passes, I understand these things better; and whenever occasion arises I am ever watchful of your Majesty's royal treasury. In Mexico conditions hereabout are understood so little, that I believe none know what takes place here. Of this I am sure because they did not tell me the truth there, nor did I understand it. One must actually see for himself the conditions here.

107. As there are so few people here it is impossible to administer justice, such as execution for murder, or whipping a rogue; for in one day we all would die. It is necessary to separate enemies and pardon offenders; for a whipped man can be a soldier no longer. It is important that your Majesty should know this.

108. The ordinances sent me by your Majesty concerning pacified districts, which propose to summon the Indians peaceably to settle near those districts and to persuade them to become Christians

by means of the friars, are very holy and just, but it is quite evident that a correct report of this matter has not been made. For the Indians are generally like deer; whenever one wishes to find them, he must first employ strategy to catch one of the Indians in order that this one may summon the others who have taken to the hills. Moreover, while they are going and coming it is necessary that God should perform miracles in providing food, clothing, and shoes for the soldiers, and also for the friars, who will go for this purpose. You must know that being long in one place incites them against one another, and they begin to die. Those who return come broken down and sick; and alms must be given them, in order that they may remain alive. I advise and assure your Majesty that they appeal to us with great facility for clothing, weapons, and money.

109. I have to undertake many different trades and offices here for I must serve as workman and overseer, judge and mediator; I must take care of the hospitals and of the dead, as well as the property of the deceased. Not one real of said property has been lost. I am sending today forty-five marcos of gold, credited to the accounts of the dead. There remain here pending law-suits, appealed to the Audiencia of Mexico, in greater amount. There is so much administration by land and sea, and so many details, that it is impossible to mention them. All this gives me great satisfaction, for I am happier when many cares attend my duties. What has wearied me, and still is unusually wearisome, is the accounts of the officials of your Majesty's royal exchequer, on account of their extravagance and careless administration. In this ship I am sending

the accounts, even in their present shape, from which your Majesty will see whether there has been any trouble. I enclose also the examination of the officials and the residencias that have been taken. In these residencias, because it was not best to discuss it, no charges were made, since no Indians had been apportioned to the royal crown. On this account, the treasury has but little income at present. I shall endeavor to improve these matters in the future, as I have said. The books of said officials of the royal treasury have been copied according to your Majesty's orders, as given in the clause of instruction for taking the accounts, and are being sent.

119. These officials of the royal treasury asked permission of your Majesty to have Indians, as appears by a letter sent them as an answer on the fleet by which I came, and according to what they say. In that letter your Majesty says this is not convenient. Notwithstanding, when Guido de Lavesares became governor, he gave them encomiendas of Indians. It seemed to me that they neglected their duties, depending upon other means of subsistence; and that they try to flatter and please the governor so that he will give them another encomienda; that the natives are angry, and that these same officials presume to draw a salary besides. Thus it seemed best to me to apportion their Indians to the royal crown of your Majesty. Therefore I promulgated a decree that they should have no Indians, and that their salaries should be paid from the royal treasury according to its contents. They have appealed from this. Will your Majesty examine and provide what is necessary? Where your Majesty possesses so slight an income as is the case at present in these islands, it was a mis-

take to send, at the beginning, three officials with a salary as great as those of Mexico receive. For this very reason, their letters-patent state that they are to be paid only from the profits of this land; yet they have taken from the stores for barter and from your Majesty's treasury at various times and seasons, what they could. I did not take an itemized account of this, for at the time of settlement, either they had nothing, or it was hidden; and they allowed themselves to be imprisoned. Upon this question judgment has been suspended, and I refer it to your Majesty, so that you may make such provision as is best. My opinion is that for the present the officials of your Majesty's royal exchequer here should not hold positions simply for ostentation, but for actual service – since there is so much to be administered here, and it is necessary that they should go about to make collections and to inspect the work in the shipyards, as well as in other places where they might be needed. It would be better to give them lower salaries, and if they proved themselves efficient in their duties, then they should be given an increase in the shape of an encomienda or another office, after having closed the account; for in this land, as all are soldiers, there are no guarantors or others to ensure the pay of the many officials. There are people of gentle birth here, as well as diligent and able soldiers, who could fill all the positions satisfactorily, while the accounts would be well kept – all of which is necessary, so far away from your Majesty. Will your Majesty please issue the necessary orders in this?

112. Although from the letter that I am writing to the viceroy of Mexico one can understand something of what concerns religious instruction and the

friars in this country, still I state the matter here as I understand it. Although, according to their rule, they may hold property in common, they cannot do so here; for the houses are built of wood and bamboo, while there are no other holdings for them. To all friars, priests, and lay brethren something must be given, so they are each granted an annual income of one hundred pesos, and one hundred fanégas of rice. I think there is a lack of religious instruction here; for there are only thirteen friars who can say mass, and I am not sure that any one of these understands the language of the natives. I am told that these islands alone require one thousand priests. Those friars who are to come here must be men who are missed elsewhere, since they come to lead an apostolic life. It is very necessary for your Majesty to send friars from all the orders – especially the Franciscans, and many of them, for they live among the Indians, and we need not support them. Your Majesty's only expense, so far as they are concerned, will be certain articles for their vestments, from Nueva España. I entreat your Majesty to provide for this most carefully, for it is necessary.

113. When I arrived, there were two ecclesiastics, one of whom died of disease, and one only is left. Many are needed. The ecclesiastics complain of the friars sent them. During my term all will be peace.

114. There is a decree of concession in these islands, issued by your Majesty, to the effect that for ten years your Majesty's fifth of the gold should be made one-tenth.⁹ The city claims that this conces-

⁹ This decree may be found in *Recopilación de leyes Indias*, lib. iv, tit. iii, ley xix. It seems to have been a general regulation, applied to any colonial possession as need might arise.

sion is continued. As all are soldiers and are poor, it is necessary and just that your Majesty concede this in this instance. Likewise there is exemption for thirty years from customs. This amounts to a mere pittance here, and what is brought hither or carried away belongs to the soldiers, who support themselves with this help; for they are given nothing, except a few encomiendas to some, and rations to others who are poor and sick; and these customs duties should be allowed to all, to prevent them from begging.

115. Up to the present time there have been no duties on exports or imports, or any other duties. And as I came during so hard times, and the people were so poor and few I did not dare to impose them. It seems to me too soon to talk of duties until it can be made profitable. This amounts to but a small sum, and whatever is brought from China by the vessels is but a small matter; and if we did not treat them well, they would not return. Deprived of what they bring, we would suffer. Therefore I mean to defer this until we have some galleys fitted up, and possess a firmer grip in this country.

116. In this island the natives have a quantity of gold, in the form of jewelry, with which they trade. There are many reports of gold mines. Because it is reported that the best mines are those in the province of Ylocos, I sent thither the sergeant-major from this camp with forty arquebusiers. He reached those mines, and reports that they are located in a very rough country, twenty leagues inland; that the way thither is obstructed by great forests; and that the country is very cold, and has great pine forests. He brought some metal, all of which I am sending to the viceroy of Mexico; this appears to be worth

something. As it is necessary to march afoot and to carry their food, and the country is hostile, and the soldiers poor, it seems a pity to send them to lose what they have, in a district where they can obtain no profit; for the operation of the mines requires tranquillity among the people, the service of many men, and abundant supplies. I shall endeavor to have the troops return, when food can be taken there, and will inform your Majesty thereof.

117. When the sergeant-major was returning from the mines, he discovered on an islet the two friars who were going with the captains in May. They say that the captains attempted to rob them; but, upon seeing that they had neither gold nor silver, because all the alms that had been given them had been deposited, by my advice, in a place of safety, the captains said that they would not take them to China since they were not taking thither anything for presents. A Chinese who was going with them as interpreter was also robbed of what I had given him. They beheaded two other Chinese who had been with Limahon, and were presented to the friars, so that they could not, on returning to their own country, relate what had occurred. It is said that the captains had determined to circulate there in China the story that Limahon and the master-of-camp had both been killed in the fight, whereupon the Castilians being without a leader, returned to Manila and allowed the corsairs opportunity to escape. But the latter remained, in order to verify the axiom that they have in China, that they may not flee. This is so evil a race that if today the whole world were given them, tomorrow they would commit a thousand treasons to steal one single real. We shall live here

always on our guard, and shall do our duty, God helping.

118. As I have informed your Majesty, the master-of-camp, Martin de Goite, died; and after his death, Guido de Lavesares appointed Captain Juan de Saucedo as master-of-camp. This captain assisted in the expedition against the corsair, and it was under his charge in Pangasinan. At my arrival I did not discuss with him and the captains the matter of residencia, for they were artful enough, and at variance with one another. Moreover it was rather the moment for burying troubles and proceeding to business. Therefore neither in his office nor in that of the captains appointed (in greater number than was necessary) by Guido de Lavesares, did I make, nor have I made, any innovation; for there are so few people here. Juan de Saucedo, master-of-camp, went to Ylocos to collect tribute from some Indians of an encomienda that he had there. There he had an attack of illness, from which he died in a short time. This is the sickness that kills old and young. Upon this occasion of the death of the master-of-camp the Chinese fabricated their lie, and complained that we did not give them anything; while in reality we spent a considerable sum from your Majesty's royal exchequer to supply them with provisions, ship's stores, and other articles, in order that they might take the fathers to China. I believe that God wills it thus, and that it is well that they owe something, so that they may pay it at once. It is not safe to go unarmed or carelessly in that country, or in this; nor must one begin an attack without having a fort to receive the return blow, and be able to sustain it. I refer to what I have said above, and I be-

seech your Majesty once more to have this expedition undertaken. As I before remarked, two merchant-ships remained here, and we treated them kindly and with justice. When they were leaving, they asked me what message I had for their country. I told them to convey my compliments to the said captains, and to say that I had very kind feelings for all the people of China; and that this was my message.

119. Since this letter was written, we have received word that the ship sent by the viceroy this year with the usual help was lost. It was the pilot's fault, or at least they say that it was. May God find a remedy for this loss, for I dare not speak of it.

120. With this I enclose a copy of the letter that I have written to the viceroy. With it I send a list of all that is needed here. This ship sets sail at a favorable season, the beginning of June of 76; and, please God, another will leave in about a month, as it lacks but a little carpenter-work. We have been working at it five months.

121. In the investigation and accounts, the officials excused themselves, saying that they had no instructions; so I made a few ordinances adapted to the life here. I am sending these with the present letter.

122. I am sending also the investigations that were made in regard to no ship leaving last year; and about not compelling any one to assay gold that is mined and traded with here.

123. I am sending the originals, and translations of the letters from China, together with the residencias; and other papers, consisting of a Chinese map and another small map that I had made here, some stories of China, and those that they call "Flowers of

Silver" – all in a box directed to the viceroy of Nueva España, so that it may be sent to your Majesty. It may be, as I believe, that, in the accounts of the officials of your Majesty's royal treasury, I also have not fulfilled well the duty of accountant, as is done at court. I humbly beg your Majesty that these faults may be pardoned, and that I may be advised of them, so that in the future my work may be more correct. When these ships are despatched, I shall begin to examine the accounts of last year, and shall send them by the first ship. I shall set down fully in these your Majesty's actual income here. I do not venture to send it with the other papers but will send it by itself. The only data accompanying this letter are in a statement of the money paid into the treasury last year, 1575; and I hope, God helping, that this amount will soon increase.

124. Because, as I have said, this year's ship from Nueva España was lost, will your Majesty please order new copies of all the papers sent in it.

125. Your Majesty sent me twelve magistracy titles for the regidores of this city, with a decree. I gave them to those magistrates whom I found living here, who numbered five, seven having died before my arrival, counting one who had become a friar. Therefore I guided myself by the precedent that there should be twelve. In addition to these five, there are the three officials of this royal exchequer, which makes the number eight; a high-constable of the city, who was already provided, and him I have left undisturbed; one Antonio Alvarez, one Francisco Bañon, and one Marcos de Herrera who are among the earliest settlers. The truth of the matter is that we would better not discuss these magistracies

now, for everything is in turmoil. Your Majesty also had a decree sent, so that the city might have the boundaries that I should assign to it; but I have not yet determined this, as I had some doubts and wished to investigate the matter thoroughly; for, if once they are assigned, the natives are bound. I shall advise your Majesty of my decision.

126. We have shipped in this vessel ninety bundles of cinnamon belonging to your Majesty; and as many more, which remained here, will be shipped in the next vessel, which will sail next month. I have gathered articles of barter, in order to send a commander of troops to Mindanao for next year's barter; then I will advise you of what is in that island.

127. A book will also be found in the box which is a narration of the country, rents, and tributarios of China, which is in substance what is contained on the Chinese map. There is also another small book resembling a collection of sea-charts, and some papers upon which are depicted their officials of justice, which are sold in the shops of that land. Because I am writing to the viceroy in Mexico and am sending your Majesty a copy of the letter, where what I do not write here is written, I close, beseeching your Majesty to be so kind as to order that this country be provided for, since it is so easy; and to grant favors to all of us who are serving you here. May our Lord preserve the Royal Catholic person of your Majesty, and bestow upon you greater kingdoms and seigniories, as is the wish of your servants and vassals. Manila, in the island of Luçon, in the Filipinas, June 7, 1576. Royal Catholic Majesty, your Majesty's loyal vassal and servant, who kisses your royal hands.

DOCTOR FRANCISCO DE SANDE

[In the same legajo, there is a letter from the city of Manila, dated June 2, 1576, which also contains an account of the affair of the pirate Limahon. It is endorsed thus: "Let it be abstracted in a report. Done." The abstract of the letter follows, and is doubtless the work of one of the royal clerks or secretaries. Certain instructions and remarks of the king or council appear in the margin of the abstract. Opposite that for clauses 71-81, which discuss the proposed conquest of China, are the following remarks: "Reply as to the receipt of this; and that, in what relates to the conquest of China, it is not fitting at the present time to discuss that matter. On the contrary, he must strive for the maintenance of friendship with the Chinese, and must not make any alliance with the pirates hostile to the Chinese, nor give that nation any just cause for indignation against us. He must advise us of everything, and if, when the whole question is understood better, it shall be suitable to make any innovation later, then he will be given the order and plan that he must follow therein. Meanwhile he shall strive to manage what is in his charge, so that God and his Majesty will be served; and he shall and must adhere strictly to his instructions as to conquests and new explorations. We shall see to it carefully that he is reënforced annually from this land with men, weapons, ammunition, and everything needed for aid. The viceroy of Nueva España will be informed of this, and ordered to attend to it carefully. Religious will be sent also, to give instruction; and all supplies that are possible at the present time will be sent. The governor must be very zealous, and encourage the people there, and give them to understand the care that is and will be taken for them

here, in protecting, aiding, and favoring them; and he must govern in all matters as is expected from his good sense and prudence. Write to the viceroy to send lead, for he [Sande] asks for it." Opposite clauses 82-85, treating of the characteristics of the Philippines and of their inhabitants: "Tell him that the report of that land has been read, and has occasioned gladness, and that he should continue to advise us thus of what is necessary; also that he show much honor and favor to the captains and soldiers." Opposite clause 86, treating of the reestablishment of Cebú: "Write that this is well done; and that he shall strive to have people gathered in the principal *presidio* [military post]." Opposite clause 89, treating of Maluco: "Let there be no innovation in what pertains to the Malucos." Opposite clause 89, treating of the encomiendas made by Legazpi: "In what has been allotted, let there be no innovation; and let that which is granted hereafter be allotted in accordance with the deserts and services of each one." Opposite clause 91: "None of the documents that he mentions as being enclosed with this letter appear to have come. He said in his letter that they were all coming in one box directed to the viceroy, and this has not arrived." "Have this relation brought." "It has not arrived, as said above." Opposite clause 92: "Bring these decrees." "They have not arrived." Opposite clauses 93 and 94: "As for what he says concerning the four galleys, let them be used to defend that port and country." Opposite clause 95: "The viceroy should be advised to send as many of those people [gunners, etc.] as possible. Write to him to that effect." Opposite clauses 96, 97, and 98: "*Yden*" ["the same"]. Opposite clause 100: "Tell

him to manage this as seems best to him;" and opposite clause 101, "*Yden*." Opposite clause 102, treating of Legazpi's and Lavezares's grants in Bitis and Lubao: "He is to observe what is ordered about this in another letter." Opposite clause 105, treating of gratuities, etc.: "Have the instructions taken by Legazpi brought. Bring the book containing the ordinances made here, after the arrival at and occupation of the islands is brought; the instructions given before that time were given by the viceroy." Opposite clause 106, treating of vacant encomiendas: "Write that, when necessity requires, and the matter can be remedied in no other way, he remedy it as well as he can, especially considering the necessities of the land, taking special care of his Majesty's estate. In the above-named book is the method to be followed in regard to encomiendas. Let him adhere to that method, and let all the encomiendas falling vacant be allotted, until there be given a contrary order." Opposite clause 108: "These ordinances are brought, and a decree is being despatched that, since we have learned that these ordinances are not observed, he is ordered to enforce them." Opposite clause 109: "Let them be despatched." Opposite clause 110, treating of the encomiendas in possession of royal officials: "This can be passed by and overlooked, because the land is new, until other provision be made. In accordance with this, let those Indians be returned." Opposite clause 111, treating of salaries of royal officials: "Let the officials be allowed to collect their salaries from the products of the country which are put into the treasury, as the property of his Majesty, until other provision be made — both of money placed therein hitherto and to be put

therein in the future." Opposite clause 112, treating of religious: "Write that they are already sent, and that we shall see to it that more are sent continually, as well as ecclesiastics." Opposite clause 114: "Let it be done thus, and a decree will be sent to this effect by his Majesty." Opposite clause 116: "Let it be done thus." Opposite clause 121: "Let them be given to a reporter, and let him bring them immediately." Opposite clause 122: "*Yden*. He has been informed already that the box containing all these documents has not been sent by the viceroy." Opposite clause 123: "Answer that these papers have not arrived. When they come they will be examined, and he will be advised of our pleasure." Opposite clause 124: "It shall be sent, and so advise him." On the outside is the following endorsement: "Answered inside. Let all that is requested be brought."

These marginal remarks and provisions offer a good example of the Spanish method of treating the communications received from royal officials. They show a distinct business-like method, that sought to dispose of such communications in the briefest time.]

RELATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE PHELIPINAS ISLANDS

[This document (which, in the archives at Sevilla, is separated from the preceding one) is, although dated on June 8, 1577, partly a duplicate of Sande's first report, dated June 7, 1576, which immediately precedes this one in the present volume. We therefore omit such part of it as repeats matter contained therein, and present all that gives additional or new information.]

The natives are all very idle. If they would but apply themselves to work a little of the time, they could have all they wanted; but as it is a hot country and they are barbarians, they go naked. Nevertheless, all know how to raise cotton and silk, and everywhere they know how to spin and weave for clothing. There is no need for anyone to spend any gold; for they catch the fish which they eat; the wine is made from the palms, which are very abundant; and from these same trees they obtain also oil and vinegar. In the mountains there are wild boars, deer, and buffalo, which they can kill in any desired number. Rice, which is the bread of the country, grows in abundance. Therefore they are afflicted by no poverty, and only seek to kill one another, considering it a

great triumph to cut off one another's heads and take captives.

In this island there is much gold, in sheets, among the natives; and, although they trade but little, they understand the value of the gold, and know how to adulterate it by mixing it with silver, tin, copper, brass, and other metals brought from China. They have established the value and qualities of gold as follows:

There is a very base gold that has no name, with which they deceive; and a second grade, called *malubai*, which is worth two pesos. Another quality, called *bielu*, is worth three pesos; and another, called *linguingui*, is worth four. The quality called *oregeras*, for which the Chinese name is *panica*, is worth five pesos; and this is the best gold in which they trade. It is of sixteen or even eighteen carats, and of this are made all their trinkets and jewelry. The best gold obtained is another grade called *guinogulan*,¹⁰ which means "the lord of golds;" it weighs about twenty-two carats. From this is made the jewelry which they inherit from their ancestors, with which they never part; and even should they wish to sell these ornaments, there is no one who would give for them more than five pesos in silver. Neither will they give more, even for good gold; and they do not take it in exchange for supplies, or for the goods which they sell. Consequently this is the reason that

¹⁰ Crawford says, in his *Dictionary of the Indian Islands* (London, 1856), p. 144: "In the language of the Bugis, whose country produces gold, we find a native word, *ulawang*, and this is again the case in the languages of the Tagalas of the Philippines, where we have the indigenous name *balituk*; while in the language of the volcanic Bisaya Islands we find the word *bulawang*, most probably a corruption of the Bugis word."

U. S. N.

gold is so valued in this country. It may be illustrated in this way. Should a Spaniard buy food or anything else from a native, the Moro immediately takes out the touchstone which he carries with him; and, even if the value be not over two reals, he takes great pains to see if the gold be conformable to the aforesaid standard. Although it may be stamped and assayed, the Indian will trust to no reckoning but his own. Neither is there any rule by which to pay, beyond the weight and value of the gold; this applies likewise to the orejeras or panica, for all the gold which is used in trade is mixed with other substances, to make the other grades of base gold. Although I have intended and tried to remedy this, it is impossible, as the majority of them are silversmiths for this very purpose; and if any restrictions were made, they would think that they were about to be ruined. It has seemed to me that the country is very new for establishing any other currency than gold, which here is like the king's fifth of silver in Nueva España. I have written to this effect to the viceroy, a copy of which letter accompanies this, and a report concerning this matter; also an account of the gold paid to the royal treasury, and the trade effected by all the Spaniards. The Chinese will not take the panica at more than four pesos of texuela to the tae^[1] which, they say, is of that value in their country and they lose one llealla by so doing. This is the weight called *tae*, and comes from China. It weighs more than one onza, two adármes; so that three tae and thirteen maes are worth two Castilian marcos, or one livra.¹¹ When I came here the viceroy of Mexico

¹¹ There is some mistake in this calculation; for the Chinese tael is equivalent to 1.1334 ounces, and the Spanish onza to 1.0161

sent an assayer, saying that one had been requested from here. After his arrival no one brought him anything to assay, as he was young and inexperienced in treating gold. Losses suffered at the beginning by those who tried to have gold assayed caused us to abandon the attempt. The Moros understand the laws of gold better than we do. I have given notice of [original illegible]. It may be of service to the royal estate. I have given information thereof which will accompany this, and I think that it is impossible to exercise more diligence. I have ordered that, when the gold enters into possession of the officials of the royal estate, they shall value it before a notary, so that it shall be issued in the same way that it entered. This is done because there seems to be no other remedy, as the Moros, with their standards, buy up all the money of current gold, and necessarily at the prices which they themselves give to it in their debts and traffic.

As provisions were wont to be sent from Nueva España every year, there were also sent reals until I came. Since then, none have been sent; nor has any money been given to me. On the other hand, I have announced to the public that it is outrageous that we do not serve your Majesty by sending some gold from here; and that even to think of their sending money from there would be to argue that we do not know how to look for it as well as they do in Nueva España. It has been a thankless task to make this ruined land

ounces, in English or U. S. avoirdupois. The mace is one-tenth of the tael. 8 onzas = 1 marco; 2 marcos = 1 libra = 1.016097 U. S. pounds. The equivalent of one libra, then, would be nearly 12 taels and 2 mace. By *texuela* is apparently meant the sheet gold previously mentioned.

profitable, for he who has Indians, or some wealth, keeps it for himself; everyone else comes, with loud complaints, to ask the governor to give them enough to eat from the royal estate. Accordingly, when I came here the royal treasury had no possibility of income, as his Majesty will see from the accounts and from a memorandum which I am sending. Although but a short time has passed, the condition of things has improved, and the affairs of the royal estate have been put into as good order as in Mexico, considering their extent.

I have succeeded in obtaining for the royal crown all the Indians possible, especially those who are useful, and whose tributes are increasing. They are conveniently near Spaniards, so that the latter can more easily make collections, and also profit by the supplies. Thus I will always do, although I have had, and still have, considerable trouble in it.

These natives have not been able to pay their tributes, on account of living scattered and far away; and their country has been at war until now. They have not been taxed, as the number of people is not known. They are so skilful in hiding themselves, that private soldiers have to be sent from here for the collection of the money. These latter collect what they wish, and say that they have collected so much, and not a penny more, and that the entire village is composed of honest men. Whoever goes brings back the same account of these peoples. Therefore little is paid, and the returns to the royal treasury are few. I have made investigations, however, and have imprisoned some of the soldiers, and prevented others from collecting the tributes; but it is only vain endeavor. On account of the few people

in this country justice cannot be executed for this or any of the offenses common here.

No one here is willing to accompany a man who goes on horseback, or serve him in any way. Therefore, I am served only by my servants; but, nevertheless, I have in my house all who wish to come there to live and to eat; and I help them to the extent of my ability. They are served by my slaves and servants in due order. There are many of them, but in my house permission is not given to live with the liberty that is desired by young men. In due season, or when your Majesty may be pleased to provide more troops, the present customs may be suitably changed – my intention being only to establish a reform in this direction.

Item: The voyages to this country are all by sea, and in ships which are often wrecked, many soldiers being thus lost. Those who have the good fortune to escape with their lives lose their arquebuses, coats-of-mail, swords, and daggers, which constitute their military equipment. Since I have been here, I have often helped many of those thus left destitute, who had no other means of succor, although not at so moderate cost to the royal estate as for the poor. In this case I have not spent from the royal estate until after reviewing all other expenses of like nature, and consulting your Majesty. This expense seems to be as necessary as the first provision of weapons and clothing to the soldiers. Nevertheless, it is wise to warn them to be more careful in navigation, and more resolute in guarding their belongings. In my opinion it will be convenient for your Majesty to have the goodness to send instructions on this point, stating

especially whether it is possible to give aid, in weapons and clothing, in a moderate quantity, from the royal treasury. It should be always forbidden to give money from the royal treasury even once, although it may thus happen that some soldiers, nobles, and cavaliers may suffer want, for lack of money with which to clothe themselves. It is not convenient to grant encomiendas to all; and although they may ask for food at the houses of their friends, they are in need of clothing. The only means of income here is the payment of the tributes to the encomenderos, whom I have tried to convince that all the soldiers be maintained thereby, as it is a very convenient method; but people of much caprice cannot be persuaded to this, nor can they clear their heads from vapors. On account of the small number of troops here, as I have already stated, I have induced the people to do sentinel-duty and undertake expeditions under leaders – of whom there are not a few, beginning with a brother of mine. Although I do my best, it is impossible to avoid giving them some aid. Last Christmas I aided several with tributes paid by some unapportioned Indians, declaring that, if they had belonged to the royal crown, I could not have done so. I allotted the Indians to a captain by the name of Chacon, and the income arising from them was divided among several persons. I preferred to have the transaction take place under authority of the officials, and to have it attested by the government notary. Therefore this has been recorded, and together with the decree forwarded to your Majesty. I trust that his Majesty will examine it, and send me information of what he may be pleased to provide.

In Nueva España, when an encomendero dies

without an heir, the Indians under his charge revert to the royal crown. When Guido de Lavazares was here, he arranged that in such case the Indians should be re-allotted; and thus it was done, being a law of the land when I came here. As the country is so new, and but ill pacified, and there is so great need for people, and this concerns the community, I have followed the same custom since my arrival – although I have assigned to the royal crown the majority of Indians who are left ownerless, thus combining both methods. I have told the people that it is meet for his Majesty to receive income in order to support the friars and his servants here, as well as for the alms and assistance which have been described. Nevertheless, it has seemed to me necessary that his Majesty be informed of the reassignments, and that he have the goodness to issue commands therefor which shall be duly obeyed. I state no reasons for or against this arrangement, since the royal council may judge better than I. If it be considered convenient to grant the grace which these persons desire, as a favor proceeding from the royal person and his royal council, let it not be imagined that this and similar actions emanate from the governor. I am of the opinion that his Majesty is the one to grant the favor; and, if he does so, he will send advices thereof, either secret or public.

The Indians of this country are not simple or foolish, nor are they frightened by anything whatever. They can be dealt with only by the arquebuse, or by gifts of gold or silver. If they were like those of Nueva España, Peru, Tierra Templada, Tierra Firme, and in the other explored places where the

ships of Castilla may enter, sound reasoning might have some effect.¹² But these Indians first inquire if they must be Christians, pay money, forsake their wives, and other similar things. They kill the Spaniards so boldly, that without arquebuses we could do nothing. This was the reason that Magallanes, the discoverer of these islands, was killed; and that Villalobos and Sayavedra, and those who came afterward from Nueva España were maltreated. All those who have been killed since the coming of Miguel Lopez de Legazpi received their death through lack of arquebuses. The Indians have thousands of lances, daggers, shields, and other pieces of armor, with which they fight very well. They have no leaders to whom they look up. The havoc caused by the arquebuse, and their own lack of honor, make them seek refuge in flight, and give obedience to our orders.

After imprisoning a soldier, it is necessary to give him food while he is in jail, and also to care for him in sickness. In order to avoid the expense, he is finally set at liberty. I have exercised all possible

¹² In New Spain, the hot and fertile regions along the coast, having an elevation of seldom more than 1,000 feet, are called *Tierras calientes* ("regions of heat"). On the declivity of the Cordilleras, at an elevation of 4,000 to 5,000 feet, there reigns perpetually a soft spring temperature, which never varies more than 10° Fahr. The natives give to this region the name of *Tierras templadas* ("temperate country"), in which the mean heat of the whole year is about 70° Fahr. The plains elevated more than 7,000 feet above the sea level are called *Tierras frias* ("cold regions"), where the mean temperature is under 62° Fahr. See Humboldt's *New Spain* (Black's trans.), i, pp. 64-67.

The name Tierra Firme was applied not only to the northern part of the South American continent, but to a definite region which extended from the middle of the Gulf of Darien to Cape Gracias á Dios. It was at first called Darien, and Castilla del Oro.

diligence to deal with them so that they will be afraid, and mend their ways. I have sent the delinquents to work apart, separated from one another; and have also reprimanded them, and informed them that they must do right. Thus, by the aid of God, this commonwealth is entirely reformed. They do not follow the pernicious practice of gambling, because they are occupied, and because they know that he who is engaged in these practices cannot be my friend. Among other men, gambling might be more endurable; but here they attack one another with knives, blaspheme, and steal, and do great harm to one another. There is also almost complete reformation from the swearing, drinking, and like vices which had caused great corruption and the disgrace of many men. There is also improvement in regard to concubinage among them. It is desirable that the soldiers should always lead honest lives; but as they are young, and the women in this country are so many and so bad, it is more difficult to correct this evil.

By a decree of your Majesty, I was asked [to fix] the boundaries of the city. I assigned five leagues around this place where we live, although as yet these limits are of no use, as in this island there have not been, nor are there now, any customs duties or other imposts. I came at a time full of labors, and the people are few and poor. Considering the losses of the ships of the past year, it seems to me that it is too soon to obtain any duties from the Chinese ships. I have advised your Majesty thereof, and exemption from the customs and other duties has been granted to these islands for thirty years. Consequently, noth-

ing is demanded from the Spaniards; and, as they are all soldiers, and should have some profit from what is sent hence to Nueva España, it would be well to increase the customs duties somewhat. It is also decreed that for the term of ten years there shall be paid the tenth instead of the fifth of all the gold found here. The city already demands, at the end of these ten years, that your Majesty renew his favors. I think that, as a result of this decree, some gold is sent to Nueva España; but, if the entire fifth were taken, the gold would be traded with the Chinese, and thus so great a quantity would not be sent to Nueva España. May your Majesty be pleased to grant this, and advise me as to this point.

When I came to this city there were here two ecclesiastics, and besides them no more in all the islands. One died of illness, and the other is now alone here, under command of the friars. When at one time he read a letter of excommunication he was appointed vicar by the provincial of the order of St. Augustine; and now he complains that he is commanded by friars. There is great need that ecclesiastics be sent here, so that the sacraments can be administered and confessions be heard, as in other colonies.

Although I write to the viceroy of Mexico concerning the religious instruction in this country (a copy of which letter accompanies this), I wish to explain more fully to your Majesty that there is a great lack thereof. Some of the friars sent from Mexico are those who cannot stay there, and must be sent away. Those who come here to lead the apostolic life must be orderly persons, and such as are missed in the place from which they come. But it is of secondary importance to discuss persons, and it is

necessary to refer to important matters which require remedies. Your Majesty must understand that there is great lack of religious teachers here, and that the friars labor very diligently, although they do not usually apply themselves to learn the language, or to attract the natives. If I am not mistaken, the surest remedy is for friars and ecclesiastics of all orders to come here, especially those who cannot possess property; for, as this land is so new and there are no inheritances, the friars can have no income in common, except the alms given from the royal treasury. As the Indians are so avaricious, and adore the gold – which they actually kiss, and consider of the highest importance – it is exceedingly necessary that the priest accept no gold, nor should he seek or trouble them for it. He must only desire food, according to the necessities of nature; and as the land is well provided therein, at the lowest prices in the world, he may be well content who wishes nothing more.

As soon as I arrived in this city, I began proceedings in the residencia, and the examination of accounts, according to your Majesty's commands. Duplicates of the report were sent in the ship "Santiago" and also in the ship "San Phelipe," which were unfortunately lost. In the ship "San Juan" will now be despatched the duplicates, as your Majesty will note in the letter to the viceroy. There is also sent an account of everything else which has been done in regard to the officials. I made all possible endeavor in Mexico to obtain instructions and papers regarding them, and I brought only those which I send with the accounts. They said that there were no others, and the officers of the royal estate declare

that they brought no instructions, and never had any. As your Majesty will see by the accounts there were no books of the treasurer or factor, and consequently none can be despatched with the accounts. When these officials were asked, they said that they kept no books. Only the accountant kept a book; but Aldave, who served Guido de Lavazares, had a memorandum-book, which I remit with the accounts. I have issued orders for every official to keep a book, and to have a common book of the treasury, which is now done. Moreover, as they said that they had no instructions, I gave them some orders, according to what I believe is necessary, copies of which I send to the royal council. The officials rendered their accounts, although I have not passed upon some things—such as accounts which are not certified, the tribute collected, and their salaries. If they hold some funds which I have not found, I cannot execute what I am commanded to do; although what I have found has been attended to. For this reason, affairs have been delayed; and in the meantime investigations have been made, and thus many affairs are now sent for the consideration of the royal council. Some of my instructions, however, cannot be carried out, for lack of funds.

On the occasion of the last investigations, it appears that they reported that they had spent more than they had received; and that the loans and deposits thus due should be placed to the account of the royal treasury. As their loans were drawn out as salaries, I have not permitted this.

The officials of the royal estate have each furnished bondsmen, who are their securities for two thousand ducats; and they gave them, little [original illegible]

because they came from Nueva Espana without furnishing bonds, and, as they say, without instructions; so I have commanded them to find bondsmen for these amounts. Their sureties are all captains and soldiers, from whom their clothes and weapons cannot be taken away, nor their means of support; there are, moreover, no realty holdings here. They regard their accounts, however, as adjusted, and have almost obliged me to wait for your Majesty to examine their pleas, so that their misdeeds may be excused. On this account I am advancing but slowly; and, as our resources for correcting this evil are so inadequate, may your Majesty be pleased to declare his pleasure as soon as possible.

The sureties have not fulfilled their agreements; and, although I have commanded them to give bonds, they do not nor can they do so, as all are soldiers in this country. The best remedy is for his Majesty to command that accounts be audited every year. Thus I have ordered, and they have been audited to the year seventy-six, and accompany this present report. For this reason most of all should the officials give bonds, that they are in charge of various small matters and transactions for which I am not sufficient security. Accordingly, although they have not yet furnished bonds, I have refrained from enforcing this order, until his Majesty shall decide what he wishes done. Guido de Lavazares had appointed Salvador de Aldave as treasurer; and he still holds the position until your Majesty shall make provision therefor. Guido de Lavazares does not wish the office; nor do I think that he is capable of filling an office which requires the keeping of documents.

In investigating the accounts of the officials, execu-

tion was levied on their goods, some of which have been entered in the royal treasury. I have commanded half of their salaries to be issued them for their support, and no more, until your Majesty shall provide accordingly. Some slaves, clothing, and bedding were left to them, the same being considered as deposits in the name of the royal estate. His property was left to Guido de Lavazares, but no salary, since that is drawn by another man, who holds his office. I offered to give him an encomienda for his support; but he did not wish it, and asked me for permission to leave this country. I showed to him a clause of the instructions regarding the accounts, which said that close watch must be kept over those who were under surveillance; that, if it were not for that clause, I would permit him to go; and that I would immediately inform your Majesty thereof. I also give information regarding the tributes from the provinces of Bites and Lubao, and elsewhere, which Guido de Lavazares collected for himself. His property was confiscated, to which act his wife was opposed, and also the properties of persons deceased of which there were many. Some of these were placed in the royal treasury, together with another portion, sent from the payments from the valley of Purao. All is set down in the accounts, as is everything concerning this matter, with the proceedings therein.

On continuing the investigation, it was found that property had been delivered to the person serving in the office of captain of artillery. When an account was demanded from him, it was many months before he was obliged to give it, as may be seen by his petitions accompanying the record of his trial. After

waiting six or seven months (I shall not mention here all the words spoken), and on seeing that he was so reluctant to present his account and explanation, I took advantage of a petition which he had made – in which he resigned his office, and begged that I give it to some one else. This I did, giving the position to him who was sergeant-major of the camp. After these changes, I had his property seized. This compelled him to attend to the account, and he began to be willing to hand it in, as appears very clearly in the report of his trial, which accompanies this. It might be well that I should not habitually show similar lenity; but in this case there could be naught but compassion felt, as he had no judgment whatever.¹³ I was therefore moved; and, by his Majesty's favor, this captain of artillery has an encomienda of more than a thousand men, near this city. This I have had set aside for him, and have commanded that he support himself from half the tributes thereof; likewise his clothes, and weapons, and his servants, were left to him. He asked permission to go to España, saying that he was married, and that he had not seen his wife for twenty years. His Majesty will command what shall be provided in this case.

In the investigation of the former captain of artillery (appointed by Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, at Puerto de la Navidad), inasmuch as no bonds were taken from this soldier, I have attached the property of Miguel Lopez, and that of the officials, for not having attended to their duty in this regard. After seeing the account and investigation of this matter made by the officials of the royal estate, I decided to

¹³ Span., *de no aver pies ni cabeza*, "as he had neither feet nor head."

transfer the blame to the account of Miguel Lopez, and to seize his goods for the same reason.

At my arrival here, Guido de Lavazares had allotted Indians to the officials of the royal estate. When I entered upon my office, they sent to ask his Majesty for permission to hold them. They were answered by a decree, which was shown to me when I came, which declared that this could not be allowed. For this reason I placed all their salaries to the account of the royal crown, to which they still belong. Salvador de Aldave presented a petition, saying that he is not a proprietary official, but merely holds the office of treasurer until another shall be provided in his place. This was done in order that his Indians should not be taken away; and on this account I have allowed him to keep them. They have all appealed, asking that your Majesty declare his pleasure. I wish that the officials of the royal estate would apply themselves more to their duties, and the exercise of diligence therein, as is very needful where there is so much to be administered; and that they should be free from other obligations and have no other means of earning a support.

As his Majesty will have already understood, I have declared that neither the officers nor other persons here can give bonds. The labors here are and have been those of which your Majesty will have knowledge. One and all have served your Majesty for many years, and as soldiers and among soldiers. If there should be any fault in the papers, I beg your Majesty to extend his mercy to all, and to deign to forget these errors. May your Majesty be pleased to pardon me this boldness, and to command that the accounts be examined. May replies be sent by the

first ship and any faults of mine which may be found therein be pardoned, and all necessary instructions be furnished to me.

Moreover, in regard to the inquiry which discusses the exchange of different grades of gold, the people here are of such sort that no one makes a payment without declaring that he is giving gold of a good quality; but, on the other hand, the one who collects declares to the contrary. By the accounts for the year seventy-six, which are now finished, and by the entire expense account, which I have examined personally, it seems to me that good faith in the past year may be deduced. In this country, the heat of the sun is very great; and for even one week's work, or when a ship is going to be launched, it is necessary to erect a shelter for the workmen. This is made in a short time, with poles, bamboo, and palm-leaves. In the shipyards there is much waste; and, as the wood rots from dampness here, the soldiers take it at night to use in their houses, and relieve their misery. This cannot be called a theft, as it is done by menials who came hither at your Majesty's expense and are engaged in his service.

When I came here I found the country swept by fire, everything in ruins, and the Indians in rebellion, having taken advantage of the coming of the pirate [Limahon]. Since then I have not ceased in my endeavors to promote all possible peace here. I have surrounded the city with a palisade and rampart, building therein two cavaliers, which are further strengthened by ramparts – one toward the southeast, where the pirate landed; and the other toward the northwest. It seemed to me very important to guard the point formed by the river and the sea. People

declare that after Miguel Lopez de Legazpi came here the water wore away the land for the distance of two gunshots. I have all the river staked in, as also the point by the sea; and have had the latter filled in with earth, until it is all level. I think that it will, therefore, be always stable, if it is repaired from time to time. I have had the fort of this city repaired, building ramparts where they were lacking, so that one may walk around it on the rampart. I have covered two cavaliers, although communication may be had between them at a pike's length, which could not be done before. The floors have been covered with wood, so that the pieces of artillery may be dragged about more easily. I have also constructed many chests, both for the interior of the fort and for the galleys, and have mounted all the guns here.

As I advised by the ship "Santiago," I sent to the island of Panay for galleys to be made. Two built there were launched in this city, and I have another of sixteen [toneladas?] finished, and one of twenty-five is in course of construction. It would have been completed four months ago had it not been for the overhauling of this ship "San Juan," which carries this letter. Nevertheless, it will be finished inside of two months, because all the boarding, planking, and sheathing has been done, and there is nothing more to hinder the workmen on the ship. I have also had oars brought for all four galleys, and the majority of them are made. Also the provisions for them and some casks have been supplied. The oars are not yet ready for use, as there are not eight quintals of lead in this country. I am expecting supplies from Nueva España, with some men to command the galleys. Besides these occupations, all the workmen

were engaged during the past year, from Christmas until July, in overhauling the ships "Santiago" and "San Phelipe." They have been busy since October in overhauling this ship "San Juan" until its sailing today, to repair damages caused by its wreck. It is now put in very good condition, with pine masts, which I took from that of the [original illegible] which are said to be better than those here; for the wood of this land is very heavy. After the completion of the galleys which were built here, I have commanded them to build there a large ship of four hundred toneladas. After completing the galley, another will be made here of the same style, God willing; we have bought much iron and everything necessary, as I have written to the viceroy in his letter. God permitting, we shall build ships here which would be worth in Nueva España one hundred thousand ducats, and which cost here less than fifteen [thousand]. Consequently the situation here may be improved thereby. Moreover, some light sailboats have been made; we have succeeded in subduing all the natives; search has been made for mines, and everything possible has been done, as your Majesty may see by the letter to the viceroy. There has also been built a hospital in this city, to which I have granted an encomienda, as I have already advised your Majesty. I have built the church of San Agustín, the expenses of justice have been paid, and a house has been built for the friars. As the corsair had burned everything, they were given three hundred pesos from the royal treasury for this purpose. As the city was without a public church, I have had as large a one as possible built of wood. There could not be a better or larger one in this country; and the

work has been going on for five months, but even yet it is not finished.

He who is governor here must exercise constant vigilance in affairs. He must know what is being accomplished in the different works, and when the persons who draw salaries journey to and from different points. He must be watchful of the provisions and supplies, and in truth, the governor must be an overseer of all the offices. It is especially difficult to prevent things from happening behind one's back. I have also had a house built where the governor lives, as there was none here before. In truth, I may say that when your Majesty was pleased to order me to come here, the path was not discovered by which they brought me on the sea, and the land was neither subdued nor peopled. I say this without prejudice to the services of my neighbors, and I humbly beg that your Majesty be pleased to grant me grace and remember me. In Manila, June the eighth, 1577.

[*Endorsed on front:* "Relation of the condition in which were found the Filipinas Islands. Their location is described in detail, and the fertility of the soil for food products, pasturage, the sugar industry, and that of indigo. The year 1577."]

BULL FOR ERECTION OF THE DIOCESE
AND CATHEDRAL CHURCH
OF MANILA

Gregory, Bishop, servant of the servants of God:
In perpetual remembrance of the affair.

Trusting in the safeguard of Him who moves the hinges of the earth, toward whom are bent the minds of men – through whose providence, moreover, all things derive their government – we willingly do our share of the duty entrusted to us from above, to the end that they who now are in darkness may be enabled to enjoy the true light which is Christ Jesus, and that the rays of His light may beam upon them. Wherefore, in accordance with the preëminence of this apostolic see in the regions of the earth, all and singular, as required by necessity and other reasonable motives, we plant new episcopal sees and churches, that by new plantations may be increased the new adhesion of peoples to the church militant; that everywhere may arise, spread, and flourish the profession of the Christian religion and the Catholic faith; that even insignificant places may thereby be enlightened, and that their inhabitants and the dwellers thereof, girded around with new sees in charge of prelates of rank, may the more easily win the rewards of everlasting happiness. In truth, since the

soldiers of our very dear son in Christ, Philip, Catholic Sovereign of the Spains, voyaging many years ago to the sea known as Mar del Sur ["Southern Sea"], discovered there very many islands known as the Philippines, near the continent of China, in some of which (chiefly in Luzon and Zebu) they made settlements; while the same King Philip sent to the aforesaid islands not only temporal governors for the purpose of establishing and maintaining justice therein, but ecclesiastical persons, both regulars and seculars, that they might administer the sacraments of the church and confirm converts in the Catholic faith – the result was that, through the mercy of God, many natives of the said islands were converted to the said faith. However (albeit matters in the spiritual realm have thus far been managed in this fashion), with the increase of Spaniards in those islands the same King Philip, in order that they might become more peaceful and populous, with this intent sent thither Spaniards – two hundred men with their wives and children, and four hundred unmarried men. Daily very many of the said natives, embracing the aforesaid faith, receive the regeneration of sacred baptism, although the islands aforesaid are more than two thousand leagues distant from the province of the Christians known as New Spain, subject to the rule of the said King Philip, whence supplies are brought to those islands. It therefore was proper and necessary, for the welfare of the souls of these natives and other like persons, as well as for the peace of conscience of the said King Philip, that in those islands should be some one in charge of spiritual affairs, with the care of the said souls. Neither should there be wanting the proper and necessary

spiritual and ecclesiastical government in those regions, to the end that Almighty God may be served more faithfully, and the gospel law and the said faith be spread and exalted the more, on this account. After mature deliberation with our brethren on these points, with their advice, and at the humble solicitation of the aforesaid King Philip, by our apostolic authority, by perpetual tenor of these presents, to the praise and glory of the same Almighty God, as well as to the honor of His most glorious Mother and ever Virgin Mary and of all the heavenly court, and to the exaltation of the aforesaid faith, we separate, exempt, and wholly release the church of the city known as Manila, in the said island of Luzon, as well as the city itself, and, in the islands belonging to it and their districts, territories, and villages, all the inhabitants of either sex, all the clergy, people, secular and regular persons, monasteries, hospitals, and pious places, as well as ecclesiastical and secular benefices, of whatsoever orders of regulars, from our venerable brother the archbishop of Mexico, and from any other ecclesiastical and diocesan prelates, under whose jurisdiction they previously may have been – as well as from all jurisdiction, superiority, cognizance, visit, dominion, and power of any one whomsoever. Moreover, by the aforesaid authority and tenor, we erect and establish forever the town of Manila into a city, and its church into a cathedral, under the title of “the Conception of the same Blessed Mary Virgin,” to be held by one bishop as its head, who shall see to the enlargement of its buildings and their restoration in the style of a cathedral church. Besides this, in it and the city and diocese he shall have the word of God preached, the heathen natives

of those islands brought and converted to the worship of the orthodox faith, and converts instructed and confirmed in the same faith; moreover, he shall cause to be imparted to them the grace of baptism, with the administration of the other sacraments of the church. In the church, city, and diocese of Manila, he shall exercise episcopal jurisdiction, authority, and power freely. Moreover, in both the aforesaid city and diocese he shall now, as well as on occasion, erect and establish dignities, canonries, prebends, and other ecclesiastical benefices, both with and without parochial charge, with whatever else besides may be expedient for the increase of divine worship and the health of soul of those natives. He shall be subject to the said archbishop of Mexico, and to his successors for the time being, as metropolitan. Moreover, he shall enjoy all rights as on occasion shall be declared, excepting as regards gold and silver metals, gems, and precious stones, which are the right of the said Philip and of the Catholic Sovereigns of the Spains for the time being. For this reason we ordain that tithes and offerings of first-fruits [*primitias*], as required by law, need not be paid. Moreover he shall enjoy all other episcopal rights, the same as are enjoyed, by law or custom, by other bishops of the kingdoms of the Spains together with the exaction of the same as see, table [*mensa*], and other episcopal insignia and jurisdictions. Besides, for the future he may freely and lawfully use, hold, and enjoy the privileges, immunities, and graces which other cathedral churches and their prelates in the said kingdoms use, hold, and enjoy, in any manner, through law or custom. Again, to the same church of Manila we assign the aforesaid people for city, the said is-

land of Luzon and all the other islands for diocese, and the natives and inhabitants thereof for clergy and people. Moreover we grant to the same King Philip power to assign, increase, extend, lessen, and otherwise change the bounds therein. For his episcopal table [*mensa*], we apply and appropriate as dowry the yearly revenue of two hundred ducats, to be paid by King Philip from the yearly revenues coming to him from the said island of Luzon, until the fruit of the table itself shall reach the value of two hundred similar ducats. Moreover we reserve, grant, and assign forever to the king the right of patronage over the church of Manila; and should any vacancy occur therein (this the first occasion only excepted), to present, within one year, to the Roman Pontiff for the time being, persons fit for that office as bishop and pastor of the same church of Manila. We also grant the same right of presentation for dignities, canonries, prebends, and other benefices, from their first erection, and thereafter as vacancies shall occur, these being similarly given to the bishop of Manila for the time being, who shall present the same to Philip, or the king for the time being—who, by reason of the dowry and the new foundation, is to be consulted in the establishment of these dignities, canonries, and prebends, the apostolic constitutions, and ordinances, and other things, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Let no one therefore infringe this page of our separation, exemption, release, decree of erection, establishment, application, appropriation, reservation, grant, and assignments, or rashly dare to contravene. Should anyone, however, presume to attempt it, let him recognize that he has thereby incurred the wrath

of Almighty God, and of his Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on the sixth day of February in the year of the incarnation of our Lord one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight, and the seventh year of our pontificate.

LETTER FROM FRANCISCO DE SANDE
TO FELIPE II

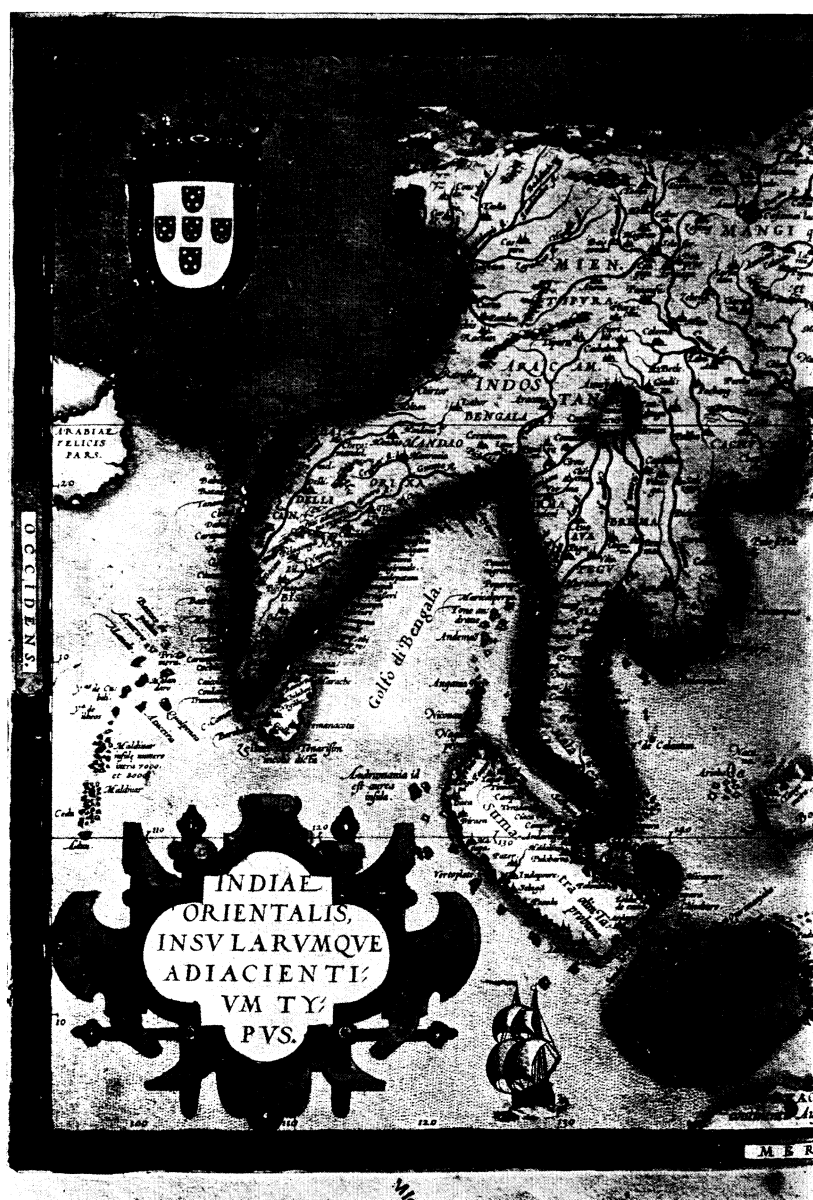
Royal Catholic Majesty:

I have informed your Majesty in other letters concerning the condition of these your Filipinas islands, and refer you to what I have written to your Majesty's Royal Council of the Indies, which letters have probably arrived ere now. Likewise I have informed your Majesty how, obeying your Majesty's orders, and those of the Royal Council of the Indies, to obtain the friendship of the king of Borneo and Vindanao, and to render an account of what was done in this matter, I left this city of Manila with the fleet of galleys and galliots. This I did for your Majesty on the third day of March, and I proceeded to the island of Borneo with forty sail, counting ships of this country, and with peaceful intentions, as my actions demonstrated. But the Moro king of those districts, not wishing peace, came out with his fleet to fight me on the sea, three or four leagues from the city. I sent him a written message of peace; but he killed one of the ambassadors (who were chiefs), and despoiled them of their possessions, as well as the Moro rowers whom they took with them from this island of Luçon. But although three of these have returned, the others have not. Finally he

opened hostilities, discharging his artillery. After we had fired a number of volleys, it was God's pleasure that the Moros should be conquered and take to flight. Thereupon I employed myself in collecting the galleys and ships taken from them – in all twenty-seven. Likewise I secured the artillery, dragging much of the same out of the water, where they had thrown it – in all one hundred and seventy pieces, both large and small. In my other letter, however, I did not inform your Majesty exactly concerning this number, and stated that I had remained in Borneo to settle and populate it, as in fact I did.

After this, when I had subdued four or five thousand Moros who were settled there – among them an uncle of the king, and a cousin who served the latter there as captain-general in that war, the king of Borneo persisting in hiding in the mountains and swamps in which that island abounds – and when I set about collecting and summoning the people, it was God's will that all my soldiers should fall ill. It became necessary for me to set sail in order to save my men, as your Majesty will perceive by the relation which I am sending to the Royal Council of the Indies. However, I first made an agreement with those chiefs, who promised to give full obedience to your Majesty; and that king assured me that he would receive Spaniards. Therefore, at the first occasion the Spaniards will effect a settlement, a place will be chosen for them, which is understood to be most healthful; and your Majesty will be informed thereof.

From Borneo I sent seven of the galleys captured there, with artillery, and two others of your Majesty's ships, for the pacification of the island of Vindanao.



"Indiae orientalis, insu-
Abraham Ortelius
[From original (in colors),



in Boston Public Library]

That fleet arrived there after a quiet voyage, and I shall have news of it this coming September.

In Borney I obtained precise information concerning the entire archipelago and the mainland, as I found there people from China, Cauchi,¹⁴ Camboja, Sian, Patane, Pahan, Jabas, Samatra, Achen, Manancabo, Batachina, Maluco, Vindanao, Limboton, and other islands thereabout. Concerning these I inform you only that as far as Sian there dwell Moros; and thence toward the north are idolaters. Moreover, they are within your Majesty's demarcation and are not included in the compact [of Zaragoza]; and by employing the proper methods they can be brought to the service of God and of your Majesty, without violating the laws of God or nature, or the instructions which your Majesty has most inviolably charged upon me.

With the artillery which I have taken and still hold, and the galleys as well, the propagation of the faith and of your Majesty's service can be carried forward. I take part in these expeditions necessarily, because of the communications which it is necessary to make, and to secure the observance of instructions

¹⁴ Cauchi is a phonetic form of Kuchi, the Malay appellation of the region known in recent years as Cochin-China, now a part of French Indo-China. Camboja is a better form of the name usually written Cambodia, also a part of French Indo-China; Sian is but a variant of Siam. Patani and Pahang are Malayan states on the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula. Jabas is a corruption of Jawa (now commonly written Java), the name of the principal nation inhabiting the island—the most civilized and moral of the Malayan peoples. Samatra is only a variant of Sumatra—the largest island, next to Borneo, of the Malayan archipelago. Achin (or Achen) and Mânangkabo (Manancabo) are states in the island of Sumatra; and Batachina evidently means "land of the Bataks," a tribe of cannibals dwelling near Achin. See Crawford's *Dictionary* for valuable information regarding all these regions.

and the obedience of the soldiers. In this I continue to serve your Majesty with much joy, and I see to it that all my men shall do the same.

On account of my small force (some of my men being also inexperienced and ill-armed), and because of a lack of equipment, and my determination to settle in this island, where there are gold-mines in two localities, I do not inform your Majesty concerning what expedition I shall make this coming year; since, whatever it may be, it is necessary to commence it with the beginning of the year, and cease before St. John's day. With the first reënforcements which I received, up to the present time, I made this expedition; and I found the second reënforcement in this city of Manila, with which I shall do all things possible in the service of your Majesty and will inform you thereof by the first vessel.

With this reënforcement I obtained letters and news concerning your Majesty's health, and that of other royal personages. I derived therefrom the greatest satisfaction, and I continually beseech our Lord to grant you, and to preserve, health for many years, as your Majesty's vassals and servants desire and need.

I am writing more at length to the royal Council, to which I am sending a relation of what I request herein – which I hope your Majesty will be pleased to examine, for it will be a great favor.

In other letters I have begged your Majesty to be pleased to grant me a reward; and I referred the matter, in order that he might urge the same, to a brother whom I had in España. God has taken this brother, as well as my father also; another brother is serving your Majesty in the Flemish war. For

this reason, I believe, I have not received it — whence I am in anxiety, since I know what your Majesty ordinarily does for those who serve him. I entreat your Majesty to have the goodness to favor me, and to console me in my losses of family, since only God and your Majesty are left me in this life.

The favor which I beg your Majesty is that you bestow upon me the robe, with a commandery, of one of the three orders.¹⁵ I entreat your Majesty to vouchsafe this in my behalf, for it is a thing that your Majesty is accustomed to bestow upon any worthy soldier, even when he has not an office like that in which I serve. Likewise I entreat that Don Joan de Sande, my brother, who, as I have already stated, has been serving your Majesty in Flanders twelve years, be given the robe, if he be still alive; and if not, I entreat the same for Don Bernardino de Sande, my brother, who has served your Majesty in this country as a soldier, and is now serving you as a captain of infantry. These brothers, as well as myself, will serve you better according as we are more highly honored. It is of great importance that your Majesty do not forget me, who am serving you in this capacity of governor and captain-general. And also, because I now have but little recompense, I beg your Majesty to have the goodness to order it increased, and to allow me some gratuity; for in the last expedition I spent three thousand ducats of my own, and every day there arise similar necessities. And, regarding other favors which I also entreat from the royal Council, may it please your Majesty to examine the letters, graciously to take cognizance

¹⁵ The three great military orders then vested in the crown of Spain — those of Santiago, Alcántara, and Calatrava.

of them, and to bestow upon me the reward due for the years that I have spent in your Majesty's service, continuing the service, both in peace and war, rendered to your Majesty by my ancestors and kinsmen of a most ancient lineage. And, since God so ordains it, I am alone; and now I entreat your Majesty to have the goodness to reply to me, granting me the reward, which I am quite confident of receiving, and by which I am comforted.

Since in the letter to the Council I am writing more at length, in this present letter I do otherwise, because of the many and important matters that take up the time of your Majesty's royal person.

The Portuguese have constructed six fortifications in Maluco, in each of which they have mounted eight Lombardy guns. The real defense is for your Majesty to order that no innovation be brought forward in what pertains to the compact; for I see this with great pain and anxiety for your royal crown. As for the rest, it would be quite an easy matter.

I brought from Borney twenty-seven ships, among them being twenty-one galleys and galliots, together with a hundred and seventy pieces of artillery, as above said, and other war material of which I am sending an account to the royal Council. These supplies could not be furnished to this country for a thousand ducats; and with them the condition of these islands will be greatly improved. May it please our Lord so to ordain that all men shall recognize your Majesty as their king and sovereign, as you deserve. May our Lord guard the royal Catholic person of your Majesty many long years, augmenting your dominion and kingdoms, as we your vassals desire. At Manila, in the island of Luçon

in the Philipinas, July 29, 1578. Royal Catholic Majesty, I am your Majesty's loyal vassal and servant, who kisses your royal hands,

DOCTOR FRANCISCO DE SANDE

[*Endorsed*: "September 12, 1579. To the president of the Indias. Let it be filed with the other letter, and put away."]

GRANT OF A PLENARY INDULGENCE
TO ALL THE FAITHFUL WHO
VISIT CHURCHES OF THE
FRIARS MINORS

To all the faithful of Christ who view these present letters, health and apostolic blessing:

With solicitude, as is the duty of our pastoral office, for the health of the Lord's flock entrusted by divine arrangement to our unworthy care, we willingly invite the faithful of that flock, all and singular, to visit churches and perform pious and meritorious works, in order that with the aid of divine grace, through spiritual largesses, indulgences (namely), and the pardoning of sins, they may the more easily reach the joys of everlasting happiness. For in the Indias, China, and the Philippine Islands, we desire that the churches already founded, or to be founded within the next ten years, and each one thereof belonging to the monasteries or houses of the discalced brethren known as the Order of Minors of St. Francis¹⁶ of Observance be held in due veneration by the faithful of Christ themselves – that, frequenting them with befitting reverence, and flocking thither to those

¹⁶ The order of Friars Minors (*Fratres Minores*), better known as Franciscans, was founded (1208) by St. Francis of Assisi.

churches with greater readiness for the sake of devotion, they thereby may find themselves more fruitfully refreshed through the bestowal of heavenly grace. Therefore, relying on the mercy of Almighty God and the authority of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul, we mercifully in the Lord grant and bestow a plenary indulgence and remission of all their sins, on all the faithful of Christ of either sex, who, truly penitent and confessed each year, visit devoutly the aforesaid churches, or any of them, on the first and second day of the month of August, as well as the feasts of St. Francis, St. Anthony of Padua, St. Clare, St. Louis, and St. Bernardine; and these during their visit shall, from the first vespers to sunset of those days and feasts, pour forth pious prayers to God for the exaltation of Holy Mother Church, the uprooting of heresies, and the conversion of the peoples of those regions to the Catholic faith. These presents are to hold for all times. But, as it would be difficult to have these present letters carried to all and singular the places where needed, we desire, and by our apostolic authority decree, that to copies of them bearing the seal of any person in ecclesiastical rank, the same respect shall be paid as would be given to the originals themselves, were they shown. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the seal of the Fisherman, on the fifteenth day of November, one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight, the seventh year of our pontificate.

DOCUMENTS OF 1579-82

Decree regulating the foundation of monasteries.

Felipe II; Aranjuez, May 13, 1579.

Letter to Felipe II. Francisco de Sande; May 30, 1579.

Expeditions to Borneo, Jolo, and Mindanao. Francisco de Sande, and others; April 19, 1578 to June 10, 1579.

Appointments to vacancies in Manila cathedral. Felipe II; [promulgated from?] Guadalupe, March 26, 1580.

Letter to Felipe II. Gonçillo Ronquillo de Peñalosa; July 17, 1581.

Ordinance restricting departure from the islands. Gonçalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa; March 2, 1582.

Letter to Felipe II. Gonzalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa; June 15, 1582.

SOURCES: These documents are obtained from MSS. in the Archivo de Indias, Sevilla, except the royal decrees; these are taken from the original MS. documents in the "Cedulario Indico" of the Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid.

TRANSLATIONS: The first and fourth documents are translated by Alfonso de Salvió; the second and third, by James A. Robertson; the last three, by José M. Asensio.

ROYAL DECREE REGULATING THE FOUNDATION OF MONASTERIES

The King.

To our governor of the Filipinas islands:

Fray Domingo de Salazar, of the Dominican order, and bishop of the said islands, has reported to us that he is going to reside in these islands; and that he will take with him religious of his order to found monasteries, and to take charge of the conversion and instruction of the natives. He has petitioned us to issue commands that whatever is done for the above order, as for those of St. Francis and St. Augustine, be done at our expense and that of the Spaniards and Indians (as has been done in other parts of our Indias), or as suits our pleasure, and as it receives the approval of our Council of the Indies.

Inasmuch as we have provided that monasteries be founded in Nueva España wherever it is necessary, and have ordered that, if the chosen places be villages belonging to the royal crown, the monasteries are to be founded at our expense – the Indians of such villages contributing their labor in the work and erection of the buildings; and that, when the vil-

lages are in charge of encomenderos, the monasteries are to be founded at our expense and that of the encomenderos, as well as with the help of the Indians of such villages apportioned as encomiendas: therefore it is our desire that the same orders be carried out in the founding of monasteries in those islands. I order you immediately to ascertain in what districts and places of those islands monasteries are needed; after which you will take the necessary measures toward their erection, being careful that the houses be modest, and that they be not superfluously furnished. If the villages where they are to be founded belong to our royal crown, you will give orders that they be erected at our expense, and that the Indians of such villages contribute their labor towards the work and building of them. And if the villages are in the charge of private persons, the monasteries are to be built at our expense and that of the encomenderos; with the aid of the Indians of such villages apportioned as encomiendas, as above mentioned. If in the villages live Spaniards holding no encomiendas of Indians, you will assess them also according to their condition and property, for they are in like manner under obligation to contribute toward the building of churches. The sum paid by the said Spaniards will be subtracted from the share demanded from the said Indians and encomenderos; for since this is a good work, beneficial to all, it is only right that all help toward its completion. Being thus a matter of such importance, you will devote to it all the care that it requires, remembering that no new monastery of a different order is to be founded in the same village or its vicinity.

You will be careful always to inform us of what

is being done in this respect, and of the result of the labors of the religious.

I, THE KING

By order of his Majesty:

ANTONIO DE HERASO

Aranjuez, May 13, 1579.

LETTER FROM FRANCISCO DE SANDE TO FELIPE II

Royal Catholic Majesty:

Last year, seventy-eight, in July, I wrote to your Majesty and advised you of my expedition to the island of Borney, and its outcome. This year I sent thither a fleet, which brought news that the city had been rebuilt. The Moro king there detained the captain until he had placed his clothing and wives in safety. The captain, in accordance with his instructions, returned without doing them any damage. I am quite sure that that king will quietly submit, if we effect a settlement there.

The king of Jolo rendered obedience to your Majesty and surrendered his artillery. This year he gave as tribute a piece weighing fourteen quintals that must have been hidden away.

This year of seventy-nine, I sent an expedition to pacify the river of Mindanao. The king ruling there fled; but, as our people carried orders not to do any harm there also, peace was made, and some of the natives returned. If we plant a colony there, that king also will submit – which cannot be effected in any other way, because of our distance from there.

In August of seventy-eight a galleon and a large galley with five hundred men, and other necessary

supplies for Maluco, passed Borney. It is said that one hundred were Portuguese and Spaniards, and the rest *mestizos*¹⁷ and people from Yndia. According to a Cafre [heathen], their hulks were in very poor condition. He says they were going to Maluco to collect the tribute which was lost three years ago. I am sending the investigations and accounts of this and of everything to your Majesty's royal Council, and am writing more in detail. I beg your Majesty to be so good as to favor this other world by examining this letter. Because of your Majesty's stringent orders not to go to Maluco, we have not gone thither. However, the compact, as I have advised your Majesty is not well considered; and Maluco is not comprehended in it, and is in your Majesty's demarcation.¹⁸ Thirty vessels leaving and returning to Sevilla could load cargoes of spices — pepper, camphor, and other drugs and spices. In these vessels, people could be brought from España, and a few fleets would populate this land, and clearly we could take

¹⁷ *Mestizo*: the offspring of a white man and an Indian woman, or of an Indian man and a white woman — of course, almost entirely the former. See interesting notes on this subject by Retana, in his *Zúñiga*, ii, pp. 525*, 526*.

¹⁸ Herrera says (*Descripción de las Indias*, cap. 26), that: "The West Indies [*Indias del Poniente*] comprise all the islands and mainland [*Tierra firme*] beyond the line of demarcation of Castilla and Leon, as far as the western bounds of that said demarcation, the line whereof passes around the other side of the world, through the city of Malacca." This is conformable with the law of February 22, 1632 (*Recop. leyes Indias*, lib. i, tit. xiv, ley xxxiii), which locates Japan and the Philippine Islands in the West Indies; it also corresponds with the Constitution (*Onerosa*) of Clement VIII, issued December 12, 1600, to be found in section 4, wherein the Philippines are located, it seems, in the West Indies, or what are considered as such. However, what really is the dividing line has not yet been decided.—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

possession of all of China; for by way of Nueva España the despatch of vessels will always be a trifling matter, and by way of the strait of Magallanes I do not believe that we can hope for so good a result. I am writing in detail regarding this to your Majesty's royal Council. I am writing also of the method which I think we should employ – namely, to settle in greater Java, whence we should despatch a vessel to Sevilla to give information of the route, although I believe that that made by the ship “Victoria” is not forgotten.

I have built a vessel here of six hundred toneladas, which can make the said voyage, if your Majesty will so order; and I am now building another. There is an excellent fleet of galleys; and with what was captured from the Borneans, and in Jolo and Mindanao, and with that taken from the Portuguese galley which I said was lost, we have more than two hundred pieces of artillery. From the useless pieces I am casting others. Certain Indians in this land have founded for me one piece weighing ninety quintals; and there is not in the castle of Milan a piece so well made. Another mold has been made, and the Indian says that he will make as many as are ordered. From Nueva España no favorable message, in regard to this or other things, is sent. Therefore if your Majesty wishes that China be yours in your days – please God, may they be many, as we your Majesty's servants need – it is necessary for the execution thereof that ships be sent here from Nueva España, since now we have some knowledge of this region, and the vessels have here a good port, and we know how to proceed.

This archipelago is secure from enemies, blessed be

God. We have begun settlements – one in the province called Cagayan, in the northern part of this island, and sixty leagues from China.

In other letters I have begged your Majesty to be so kind as to favor me. Once more I bring this to your memory. I beg your Majesty to grant me a habit and an encomienda for myself, and another for one of my brothers. All of my brothers are serving your Majesty in the war, and I am sure that they deserve the most that I beg and entreat. I am writing to the royal council. I beg your Majesty to order that my case be examined, and to honor this office in which I serve you, and bestow favor upon one who has served you for so many years as I. May our Lord preserve your Majesty's Catholic and royal person, and increase you for many years as we, your servants and vassals, desire. Manila, in the island of Luçon, in Philipinas, May 30, 1579. Royal Catholic Majesty, your Majesty's loyal vassal and servant, who kisses your royal hands,

DOCTOR FRANCISCO DE SANDE

[*Endorsed*: "Doctor Francisco de Sande. June four, 1581. He requests a habit and an encomienda. To the Council of the Indies." "Seen, and no answer is required."]

EXPEDITIONS TO BORNEO, JOLO, AND MINDANAO

In the galley named "Santiago," on the nineteenth of the month of April, one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight, the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor and captain-general for his Majesty of the Western Islands declared: that, inasmuch as his Lordship is going with a fleet of galleys to the island of Borneo, both to teach the natives there the Christian law, and to reduce them to the dominion of his Majesty – as well as to ascertain and inform himself about the customs, past and present, of the said natives, what law and ceremonies they observe, and the mode of life among the natives thereabout and in other parts, who are vassals of his Majesty – in order to attain this he ordered to be conducted, and did conduct, the following inquiries and procedures:

For the investigation of the above-named matters, the aforesaid governor summoned to his presence an Indian who, through the medium and speech of Juan Ochoa Ttabudo, an interpreter, declared his name to be Magad-china, and himself an inhabitant of Balayan. Without taking the oath, he promised to tell the truth; and, being interrogated according to

the tenor of this declaration, said that he knows that the king of Borneo is wont to detain many Indians who resort to Borneo for trade and intercourse, and that he does not permit them to leave the country, especially those Indians whom he knows to be rich. The witness knows that the king forces them to marry in that country, so that at their death he may obtain their possessions. In this way he has seen detained against their will, Indians of Cebu, the island of Luçon, Balayan, Bonbon, and other districts of these islands – all rich and influential men. In especial was he acquainted with an Indian of Manila, a messenger of Raxa Soliman, by name Simalinquidlan; another named Siparan, a native of Manila; and a chief named Siganbal, a native of Balayan, whom he (the present witness) knows to have been detained by the king of Borneo, in his country, and he does not allow them to leave it. The said chief of Balayan has been detained six years, and some eighty or ninety taes of gold were taken from him, besides slaves, and all these were kept by the king. At the end of the said six years, the said chief fled returning to Balayan, his native village. In like manner, the present witness knows that the king of Borneo is detaining many Indian chiefs and *timaguas* [freemen], and that he will not allow them to leave his country. Likewise this witness, upon going to Borneo to trade, was detained in the island against his will for eight or nine years, until the said king of Borneo sent him to Balayan to sell a trifle of *camanguian* and other articles – whereupon he remained in the said town, and would not return to Borneo. He has seen this done and practiced by the king of Borneo against many persons, both chiefs and

timaguas, of the region about Manila, who are vassals of his Majesty.

Being asked where he learned the worship of Mahoma, and who declared it to him, he said that the ancestors of the Borneans were natives of Meca, as he, the present witness, had heard; for the natives of Balayan, Manila, Mindoro, Bonbon, and that region did not have knowledge of the said worship until the Borneans had explained it to them; they have done so with the natives of these islands, and therefore all these are Moros now, because their ancestors learned it from the said Moros of Bornei.¹⁹ Their language, both spoken and written, is derived from Meca; and the said Borneans and natives of Sian and Patan possess and observe their Alcorans — the law and worship of Mahoma. He said that in the book of the Alcoran, which the present witness has seen and has heard preached, they say and assert that they are the enemies of the Christians. Likewise in other books they say that the Borneans have always desired to make Moros of the Christians — a thing that he has also heard declared by the *catip* [caliph?] whom the said Borneans regard as a priest, and who preaches the said doctrine of Mahoma. This said *catip*, and others, with like expressions preach the

¹⁹ The missionaries who effected the conversion [of the Malaysian tribes] were not, for the most part, genuine Arabs, but the mixed descendants of Arab and Persian traders from the Persian and Arabian gulfs — parties who, by their intimate acquaintance with the manners and languages of the islanders, were far more effectual instruments. The earliest recorded conversion was that of the people of Achin in Sumatra (A. D. 1206). The Malays of Malacca adopted Mahometanism in 1276; the Javanese, in 1478; the inhabitants of the Moluccas, about the middle of the fifteenth century. This doctrine has been received by all the more civilized peoples of the Indian archipelago. See Crawford's *Dictionary*, pp. 236, 237, 284.

said doctrine of Mahoma, so that the said natives observe it. They declare and publish that the law of the Christians is evil; and their own, good. The witness knows that, in the former year, seventy-four, the king of Borney undertook to attack Manila, and to plunder and kill the Spaniards, launching for the purpose a fleet of one hundred galleys and one hundred small vessels. In each large vessel were about fifty, and in the smaller about thirty men – all together, in the judgment of this witness, making about seven or eight thousand men. All were of one mind, to kill the Spaniards at Manila. The said fleet left the river of Borney to begin the said expedition, but, after sailing about twenty leagues, immediately returned, because the son of the king of Borney was taking part in the said expedition; and, in order that the Spaniards might not land at Borney in another part, and kill his father, he did not continue the said expedition, but returned with the whole fleet, without his enterprise having any effect. The witness has heard that the king of Borney wrote letters to Raxa Soliman and Lacandora, chiefs of Manila, so that they might revolt against the Spaniards, and saying that all would be protected. Likewise he has heard his relatives and other Moros tell how in former times the king of Borney has sent preachers of the sect of Mahoma to Cebu, Oton, Manila, and other districts, so that the people there might be instructed in it as were those of Borney. And this witness, in his own time, has heard the said doctrine preached in Balayan, by a Moro regarded among them as a priest, by name Siat Saen. Also it is well known that the said Borneans are wont to plunder the Calamianes, and enslave the people

and take them to Borney. They do the same in other districts thereabout. The witness has heard that the said king of Borney holds captive a Spaniard, named Diego Felipe, and two Christian Visayans, whose names he does not know. This is what he knows, or is currently reported, and what he has seen. He certified as to its truth, ratified it, and signed it, in his own language, as did the said interpreter. He was about thirty-one years old.

JOAN OCHUA TABUDO

Before me:

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary

[Following this are depositions taken from four other men, two of them natives of Borneo. The testimonies of all are very similar to the foregoing, and show the policy of the king of Borneo. One testimony declares that the king was wont to make the rich and influential men who might land at his island captains, in order to retain their wealth. The document continues:]

[Letter to the king of Borneo.]

I, Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor and captain-general for his Majesty in these islands and districts of the West, by order of his Majesty, the king of Castilla and Leon, my sovereign, Don Ffelipe, the greatest king and most powerful sovereign in the world, send this letter by these messengers to you, Outardo Soltan Lixar, king of Borney, so that you may know my will, and what I require.

You know already how I, with the other captains and soldiers of the Castilians live, by order of

the king, our sovereign, in Manila, in the island of Luçon, in Cebu, and in other districts. There in Manila, Cebu, and other districts it has been rumored that you have tried and are trying to do us harm, and to make war upon us; that you have tried to induce and have solicited the natives of Luçon and other districts to rebel and revolt against us; that you have sent spies to Cebu and other districts; that you have left your residence for this purpose of warring against us with a fleet of ships. All these things are without any reason, and I know not what is the cause therefor; for my will is good and I desire to show naught but good to all, and ill to none. Since I am proceeding to confer with you openly and publicly, I notify you that I am not coming to plunder or to harm you, but to prove of use to you; for the king, my sovereign, orders thus, and accordingly I gladly notify you that I am going to you. My sovereign, the king of Castilla, spends his money through us, the Castilians, and sends us into all parts of the world, in order that we might proclaim the law of the true God. For this purpose I came hither; and now I am going to confer with you, chiefly that you may know your God and Creator, and to teach you the true law. I wish to do you no ill, nor to seize your possessions; on the contrary, if you are our friend, I will aid and defend you, according to the orders of the king, my sovereign. To this end I offer you peace and friendship on our part, in such wise, that there may be mutual security, on both sides, to go and to come, to see one another, to trade and traffic, as is usual among friends.

What you are to do is to admit preachers of the holy gospel, who may preach the law of the Chris-

tians in your lands in all security; and likewise that any person whatever of your country may have entire liberty and permission to attend the preaching of the law of the Christians, and that he who wishes to become a Christian may do so without any ill befalling him.

Further, I desire that you shall send no preachers of the sect of Mahoma to any part of these islands, nor to the heathen among the Tingues [hill-people], nor into other parts of your own island – inasmuch as the doctrine of Mahoma is a false and evil law, and the religion of the Christians alone is true, holy, and good.

Further, I desire that you send me a Christian Spaniard, called Diego Felipe, whom I am told you have there, as well as others if you have them; and two Visayans, natives of Cebu, Christians whom we know that you have, and who were captured from their own country; likewise whomever else you have in your power. You must give to the heirs of Raxa Soliman and Lacandora, natives of Luçon – vassals of the king, my sovereign, and his subjects, in his royal name – the slaves and property that you have retained there belonging to them; and whatever belongs to any other vassals of the king, my sovereign. This I would do myself, if I had anything of yours or of your people, and would pay and return it, and would do justice to them in that regard very openly.

Item: You must allow those persons whom you have detained, because they are rich, to go about freely, and give them leave to return to their own lands, since they are natives of these islands of the king, my sovereign. They went to trade with you,

and you have no right to constrain them; but you must allow them to go freely with their wives, children, and possessions.

Likewise, you must forbid your people from asking tribute in these islands, inasmuch as I collect tribute in them, as it is the right of our king, my sovereign. I write this letter that you may be advised of my wishes. You must answer it immediately, and not detain the messengers, even if they should say that they wish to remain in Borneo with you; for if they are detained, I shall understand that there is some mischief and deceit on your part against our people. As we are coming by way of the sea, and have need of food, you must send food to us, in accordance with what is asked by my messengers, in return for our money. This shall be paid you, as you wish; and for the same, we are bringing silver and gold. I shall be glad to receive your reply and to talk with you. Advise me with all haste. May God grant you the true light and health.

DOCTOR FRANCISCO DE SANDE

(On the thirteenth day of April of the above year, I delivered two copies of this letter, one in the Bornean language, and the other in that of Manila, to chiefs Magat and Magachina, so that they might give them to the king of Borneo.

I hereby certify to the same:

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary)²⁰

(On this day, the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor and captain-general for

²⁰ Throughout this document, the attestations and other legal procedures of notaries are enclosed within parentheses.

his Majesty in these islands, showed this letter to father Fray Martin de Rada, religious of the order of St. Augustine, whom he is taking with him in the said expedition, so that he might examine it, as a matter resolved on by both. He, having read it, pronounced it good and said that it could be sent to the said king of Bornei.

I herewith certify to the same:

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary)

In the chief galley, named "Santiago," while at sea near the island of Bornei, one of the Filipinas islands belonging to his Majesty, on Sunday, the thirteenth day of the month of April, one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight, the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor and captain-general for his Majesty, declared that, as is well known, his Lordship going with the galleys and ships of the fleet here amid these islands at this present time – and sailing with every mark of peace to the port of Bornei, and as a token of the same, with a white flag at the bow of the flagship, in which the said governor is sailing – it was discovered by the said galley, and by the *fragata*²¹ sailing in advance of the fleet as a scout-boat, that the mouth of the river-harbor called Bornei was occupied and blockaded with a great number of vessels. And because it was learned from other Indians of the said river of Bornei that they desired war instead of peace; and as he did not desire to war upon them, or do them any damage – to the offense of God, our Lord, or in dis-

²¹ The name *fragata* (from which is derived the English word "frigate") is here used to designate merely a light sailing-vessel which could navigate among the islands.

obedience to his Majesty's orders – the said governor ordered the said flagship, and all the said fleet, to cast anchor, and sent a message by two Moros of Balayan, his Majesty's vassals in the island of Luçon. These men were ordered to tell the Borneans, in order that they might know, that his intentions were peaceful; that, as a token thereof, he was flying the white flag; and that they should not trouble themselves to fire any of their artillery upon the Spaniards, for, if the Borneans did any damage, they would be punished. The said ambassadors took also two letters, one in the Bornean language, and the other in the Moro tongue, which they understand. In these letters was affirmed security of peace, and other matters. And – inasmuch as military affairs cannot maintain the moderation that may be desired, because of the emergencies that usually arise – in order that the above might be evident, and also in anticipation of whatever might happen, the governor ordered this set down in writing, making therein the present declaration; that I, the said notary, might certify thereto *in toto*, and file with these records the original of the said letter, which he ordered to be written to the said Indians, so that all may be kept together and serve as evidence of the above matters. Thus Doctor Francisco de Sande ordered, and he signed it in my presence.

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary

On the said day, month, and year, aforesaid, in obedience to the order of the said governor, the oath was taken and received before God and the Blessed Mary, and on a sign of the cross, in due form of law, from Pedro Lucas, a soldier; under which obliga-

tion, when questioned, he declared what he knows, and that present occurrences are as follows. On this day, Sunday, about four in the afternoon or so, when the flagship named "Santiago" (wherein were the said governor and other soldiers and troops) and also the other galleys and war vessels of his Majesty were sailing toward the port of the said island of Borney, this witness saw that the said flagship flew a white flag of peace on the bow of the said flagship. And at the mouth of the said port he saw a number of ships – in his opinion, some twenty-five or thirty in all. When the said governor saw the said fleet, and that war was about to ensue, in order not to have war with them, but that all might be peace, he ordered the said flagship and also the other ships and vessels of the said fleet to anchor. They anchored at a good distance from the said port, in order to give the natives of the said island to understand that the governor desired not war with them, but all peace and friendship. This witness saw that the governor gave two letters to two Moro chiefs of Balayan, vassals of his Majesty, of the island of Luçon – one letter in the Moro tongue, and the other in that of Borney. In them he informed the Borneans of his reasons for coming, and that he desired not war with them, but all peace and friendship. This witness saw the two Indians leave the said flagship and embark on a fragata of the said fleet with the said two letters, in order to deliver them to the Indians in the said war-vessels. The governor ordered them to return with all haste, with a reply to his Lordship. This is the extent of his knowledge and what he has seen this said day. He affirms its truth, by the oath that he took, and has signed the same. He says that he is

thirty years old. Upon this being read to him, he affirmed and ratified the same.

PEDRO LUCAS

Before me:

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary

[Testimony is received also from three others, Juan Manuel Pimentel, Juan Ochoa, and Gaspar Perez. That of the first is similar to the above. That of the last contains the information that the two Moros sent with the letters "as yet have not returned nor sent a reply, except that we see that the said fleet of the Borneans still holds the mouth of the said port, and his Majesty's fleet is anchored in the open sea and in great peril; and this witness has heard some heavy shots fired by the Borneans at his Majesty's fleet. It is well known, and this witness has heard the Borneans say, that the king of Borneo and his people are about to war upon the Spaniards, both by sea and by land." A portion of the interpreter Juan Ochoa's testimony is as follows. "This witness saw at the mouth of the said port a number of Bornean warships, in his judgment numbering some twenty or twenty-five. When these were seen by the said governor and by the fragata of the said fleet, the said governor ordered the said flagship and all the other galleys and ships to anchor, which they did, anchoring in the open sea, without any shelter. This witness saw that the flagship was flying a white flag of peace, so that the natives of the island might understand that the Spaniards desired not war, but all peace. And on this same day, this witness heard from Bornean Moros captured in a small boat on that day while on their way from the said river of

Borneo to their villages, that the said king of Borneo had heard that the said fleet of his Majesty was going to Borneo; and in order to defend himself and fight with them, he had gathered as large a fleet as possible, and for the purpose of war had come to the island of Mohala (distant about one league from the port of Borneo), where his Majesty's fleet was about to anchor and take in water. The said Bornean Moros told this witness, as being the interpreter, that they had been captured on the said day, in the said boat."]

TESTIMONY REGARDING THE NAVAL BATTLE WHEN
THE PORT WAS CAPTURED

After the above events, on Monday, the fourteenth of the said month of April, one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight, about noon, the said governor having seen that the said Borneans had returned no answer to his letters, nor had they sent back the two above-mentioned chiefs and six Moros from Balayan (his Majesty's vassals, who accompanied the chiefs), and because his Majesty's fleet was in great danger, as it had not made port; that a number of vessels belonging to the said Borneans were on the point of beginning hostilities, and that the Borneans showed by certain tokens that they were anxious for war and not peace – for this reason commencing to fire and discharge many pieces of artillery at his Majesty's said fleet and soldiers: therefore he ordered that the said fleet, disposed in good order, enter the said port, placing at the bow of the said flagship a white flag of peace, that, if the said Borneans wished peace, he might make it with them. And at the coming of the said fleet of his Majesty,

thus arranged, the Borneans in the said port – to the number of fifty ships, large and small, rather more than less – began to resist the entrance into the port of the said fleet, firing many pieces of artillery at the said fleet of his Majesty and the Spaniards in it, until, after some time, the fleet of his Majesty entered the said port, when the said Borneans retired and fled toward the said river of Borney with many ships in pursuit of them. Thus did the said fleet anchor in the said port against the will of the said Borneans. Of all the above, I, the said notary, testify herewith. These things took place before me, as a person aboard the said fleet; and I herewith testify to the same – Andres de Villanueva, the ensign Francisco Banon, Hernan Ramirez Plata, Juan de Argumedo, and others, being witnesses.

I testify thereto:

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary

After the above events, on Wednesday, the sixteenth day of the month of April, of the said year one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight, the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor and captain-general for his Majesty in the Western Islands, being in the river of Borney, where there was a great settlement of houses; and going into a large house, said to belong to the old king of the said river, found there the said Simagat, a chief of Bala-yan, and a vassal of his Majesty, who was one of the messengers sent to the said king of Borney with two peace-letters. When questioned through the interpreter, Juan Ochoa Ttabudo, he told what happened in regard to the letters given them for the said king of Borney, to whom he gave them; what answer they

made to him concerning them; what insults and ill-treatment they inflicted on him; and what befell Simagachina, chief of Balayan, who accompanied him. He declared that what happened is as follows. On Sunday night, the thirteenth of this present month of April, this witness and the said Simagachina left the flagship, embarking in one of his Majesty's fragatas, together with six Moros, five of whom were from Balayan and one from Tondo. They took two letters from his Lordship for the king of Borney, one written in the Bornean tongue and the other in that of Manila. When this witness, and the others abovesaid, had landed in the port of the said river of Borney where a number of war vessels had gathered to prevent the fleet of his Majesty from making the said port; and when he had come to a large galley under command of a Bornean named Salalila – the latter, on seeing them, ordered them placed in the said galley, and took from this witness a gold *calenbiga* that he wore, which weighed about seven taes of gold. Another Indian, unknown to him, took another from the said arm, and several other ornaments were seized from him. They took from him a gold box, two small chains, and another smaller one, all together weighing eleven taes. On taking away his garment, they discovered the letters given him by his Lordship. As soon as the said Salalila and the other Borneans with him saw the said letters, they laid hands upon them, exclaiming: "What knavery is this that you have here? It is some sorcery to fight with us." This witness replied that they were only some letters for the king of Borney from the Spaniards. Thereupon the said Salalila read the letter that was written in the Manila tongue, and, after

reading it, said jestingly, "This letter is from Portuguese," and tore it into pieces. The other letter, written in the Bornean tongue, the said Salalila sent, together with this witness, in a small boat with certain Bornean Moros to the king of Bornei. The said Magachina and the other Moros remained in the said fleet with the said Salalila. About three o'clock next morning they reached the house where the said old king of Bornei lived. The said Borneans gave him the said letter in the presence of this witness. A Bornean Moro read it; and, when he came to the end, the said king remarked: "So this is the way that your people write to me, who am king; while the Castilians are *capie*"—that is to say, in the Bornean language "men"—"who have no souls, who are consumed by fire when they die, and that, too, because they eat pork;" and after certain other words, the said king asked him what he would do, and if he wished to return to the Castilians. This witness answered, "No, I do not wish to go now, so that I shall not be killed on the way." Thereupon the said king of Bornei said to him: "Remain here; and, after the Spaniards are conquered, stay here, and marry. I will give you a galley to command." This witness, for fear that he would be killed, answered, "Yes, I will do as you wish." Thereupon the king asked him as to the ships and people of the Castilians, and this witness told him that there were eight galleys, thirty-two vireys, and seven hundred Spaniards under the supreme command of Captain Bassar. Then the king asked how many pieces of artillery were in each ship, and their size, and how large a ball each one carried. This witness answered that each galley carried in its bow three large pieces; and that

four galleys threw balls as large as his head, and the others balls about one-half that size. He asked further if they carried broadside pieces, or if they carried any that one man might take alone; and this witness answered that they did not. Likewise he asked him what weapons the Spaniards carried, and whether the governor were young or old. This witness answered that each Spaniard had one coat-of-mail, two arquebuses (one large and one small), a buckler, sword and dagger, and a lance; and that the said governor was not old. He asked him the governor's name, and whether he was recently come from España. This witness answered that he did not know his name, but that all called him Captain Basar, and that he had come two years ago to Manila. Then he asked him for the master-of-camp, Juan de Salcedo, and for many Castilians of Manila. This witness told him that the said Juan de Salcedo was dead. He also asked him what Spaniards remained in Manila, about their fort and artillery, whether ships came annually from España, and what soldiers they brought. This witness said that many Spaniards remained in Manila, for ships came from Castilla every year bringing many people, all of whom remained; and that they had built a very large fort containing forty pieces of artillery. Many other things which he could not remember were asked him, after which the said king dismissed him; whereupon this witness went to the house of a relative of his, on the other side of the river. As he was finishing his breakfast, for it was early morning, about nine or ten Moros entered, bound him, and took him to the said house of the king, who asked him anew many questions concerning the Spaniards, which he does not re-

member, except that they threatened him that, if he did not tell the truth, they would kill him, and whether the said letter was witchcraft. Upon this witness asserting that he had told the truth, they took him to the prison and thrust both his feet in the stocks, put a chain about his neck, bound his hands, and set a Moro named Tumanpate to guard him. While in this condition, a Moro named Haguandatan entered the said prison, drew a Moro dagger three palms long, and said to him: "Have no fear. I killed Magachina thus, and gave him a dagger-thrust near the neck, from which he died." He was a slave of the king and turned to go, saying that he was going back to the sea and the fleet to fight with the Castilians. Then many other Moros came in to kill him, but the jailer forbade it and would not allow them to kill him. Afterward, about nightfall, he heard many shouts and outcries from the said river; and, upon his asking the said jailer what it meant, the latter told him that the Bornean fleet was fleeing from the Spaniards. Thereupon this witness asked that he be not killed, and said that he would give him money. Accordingly, at night the jailer took him from the said prison to a house of his up the river and told him that the king of Borneo and many Indians had fled up the river; and that he should write a note, so that his relative should pay his ransom. While here, his relative aforesaid, named Siandi, came and gave him a culverin²² of three quintals weight, with

²² Evidently one of the so-called "hand cannon," which were often used at this period, both by cavalry and by infantry — portable fire-arms, loaded sometimes at the breech and sometimes by a movable chamber. See illustrations and descriptions of these weapons in Demmin's *Arms and Armor* (Black's trans.), pp. 59-74, 485, 511-517.

other Spaniards – he alone remaining, for the other man, his relative, turned back, leaving this witness in the power of the Spaniards. Likewise this witness declared that when they took him to the river of Bornei, he met on the way a son of the said king of Bornei who was going to fight with the said fleet. This man told him where he was going, and how the said letters had come to his father; and thus let him go. And this is the extent of his knowledge, and of those events. It is the truth. Having read it to him and given him to understand it, he affirmed and ratified it. He is about thirty years old. He did not sign it, but the said interpreter did. He said it is known that the Borneans killed his companion, the said Simagachina.

JUAN OCHOA TTABUDO

Before me:

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary

And after the above events, on the same day, month, and year, above-mentioned, the said governor in the said flagship and with the other galleys and small ships in his convoy, entered the bar of the said river of Bornei and came to the village, where it was reported that the said king of Bornei resided; where also were the fragatas of his Majesty and other vessels that had entered the port, in pursuit of the said Borneans. And having arrived at the said village with certain soldiers and troops, the governor entered its chamber, and it remained for him to give two taes of gold and four slaves. Then the prisoner was released. Upon this witness going down the river with another relative of his, named Sicollao, they met a Spaniard named Diego Martin, and joined

a large house which was there, and below the said river, said to be the house of a son of the said king of Borneo. This house contained a large and well-finished piece of artillery, and a number of culverins, *frecones*, and other offensive arms. Advancing toward the houses where it was reported that the old king of Borneo lived, near the said house, they saw a large galley with more than twenty-four benches on each side. It contained a large swivel-gun and another smaller piece, both loaded, and having on them some *quinas*,²³ which appeared to be the arms of the king of Portugal, and each one furnished with two handles. The said galley contained also four other culverins mounted in the place where the cargo is stored; and the galley carried a quantity of ammunition for the said pieces. Some four or five galleots of sixteen or eighteen benches each were found also, with many falcons, and culverins, and one of them with a half *sacre*.²⁴ After disembarking, the said governor entered a house reported to be that of the old king of Borneo. There he found a large gourd filled with papers, among which were three letters – two written in the characters and language of Borneo, one bearing a signature, namely, “Don Leonis Pereyra Martin Ferreyras;” the third was written in Portuguese, beginning, “Noble and honored king of Borneo.” It was dated at Eborá, March seven, one thousand five hundred and seventy-three, and bore a signature, namely, “El Rey” [“The King”]. By order of his Lordship, I, the said notary, took possession of the said letters. The said governor went

²³ The arms of Portugal, consisting of five scutcheons, in memory of the five wounds of Christ.

²⁴ One of the numerous appellations of small cannon.

also by land to a house, wherein was kept the gun-powder. He found there eighteen Bornean jars filled with powder, twenty-four filled with saltpeter, and many loaves of sulphur; more than five hundred lances and *conpites*, with which the said natives shoot; many shields, pikes with iron heads, a great quantity of small and large iron balls of many kinds, and many arrows; and two or three jars of poisonous herbs. Also at the door of the said arsenal was a piece of artillery, a broken swivel-gun (also bearing the arms of the king of Portugal), with its large handles; four other *fresones*, large and long, with four chambers; two cannon-cases for artillery, one very large and without any piece; and a stone ball, slightly thicker than a man's body. Another large house, said to belong to Indian chiefs and captains, was entered. A number of culverins and some gun-powder were found there. Then the said governor went to the mosque located in the said town, where he found a large chair, upon which, they say, sat the preacher who expounded the doctrine of Mahoma to the said Borneans. Near this chair was a block of marble containing painted and gilded pictures of idols. This and the said chair the governor ordered taken from the said mosque, as well as a trough which the Borneans said contained water wherein whoever bathed went straight to heaven at his death. This trough was removed by order of the said governor, along with other articles, and the idols contained in the mosque. There were collected also throughout the said town a great number of projectiles, falcons, and culverins. This ammunition and artillery was ordered to be collected and kept by the said governor, so that the said Borneans could not

use it. All that happened on this said day passed before me and many others. I certify thereto – the treasurer Salvador de Aldave, the ensign Juan de Gamboa, Luis de Garnica, Francisco Chacon, and many others being witnesses.

I certify thereto:

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary

And after the above events, in the settlement on the said river of Borney, on Sunday, the twentieth day of the month of April of the said year one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight, the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor and captain-general for his Majesty in the islands of the West, with all his soldiers and troops in line of battle, entered certain houses said to belong to the said king of Borney, and went through several of them from one part to another, and said that he was taking, and did take, possession of them, in the name of his Majesty, King Don Ffelipe, our sovereign. From here, marching in battle-array, he disembarked, and went hither and thither in various parts, had many branches cut from trees there, and entered the mosque of the said town, and a large house which was among others in the settlement; here he ordered his lodging to be prepared and at present is lodged there. All this he declared that he did in sign of possession, and for the possession which he was taking and did take of the said settlement and of all the island of Borney with intention to hold and defend it in the name of his Majesty from whomsoever might try to oppose him. For defense of the troops in the said settlement, he ordered a stockade to be built, like a fort, where his Lordship and all the other Spaniards

are lodged. He ordered me, the said notary, to testify to this; and I, the said notary, certify to all the abovesaid, for these events took place before me, as one coming upon the said conquest – witnesses thereto being Pero Lucas, Luis de Garnica, Francisco Chacon, and many others.

ALONSO BELTRAN, notary of his Majesty

And after the above events, in the said village on the river of Borney, on the twenty-fourth day of the month of April of the above year, the said governor summoned an Indian before him who, through the interpreter Juan Ochoa Ttabudo, declared himself to be one Sinagua, a native of the town of Balayan, one of the six Moros who left the flagship at his Lordship's order with Simagat and Simagachina, with two letters for the king of Borney. He was advised (but without administering the oath, because he was a Moro) to tell truly what he knew and had seen, and the injuries and ill-treatment inflicted upon him and the others. He said that what he knows and what occurred is the following. As before declared, this witness is one of the six Moros whom the said Simagat and Simagachina took with them when they carried the letters to the king of Borney at the order of his Lordship. When they reached the fleet of the king of Borney, stationed in the port of an islet to forbid the entrance there of the Spaniards, and when the said Borneans saw them, these envoys were seized and each one placed in a separate galley – except this witness and one other Moro, one Sungayan, who were imprisoned together and put in fetters under the deck. This witness does not know what was done with the others. The next morning they took this

witness and his above-mentioned companion and led them before a captain, whose name he does not know. This captain ordered them to be freed and food to be given them. Then he ordered them to be placed in the said galley without this witness seeing any of the others who had gone with them. Because he was below in the said galley, this witness did not see the fight between the said Moros and Spaniards, except that the vessels of the said Borneans took flight, and that the galley in which this witness was fled up the river of Borney, until its captain and crew landed. Taking this witness and his companion with them, they marched inland one and one-half days, without this witness knowing whither they were taking them. Finally, for fear of the said Borneans, they hid themselves; for the said Borneans were fleeing across country. This witness and his said companion fled and returned, until they found a small boat in which they embarked to look for the Spaniards (keeping hidden in order not to meet any Borneans), until they met certain Spanish vessels, which they accompanied to the village, where the governor and Spaniards now are. Here they found alive the said Simagat, who told them how he had been ill-treated, his gold taken from him, and himself threatened with death; and that the said Borneans had killed the said Simagachina. This witness is convinced of his death, for he has never appeared nor have they had any news of him. As he does not understand the language of Borney, he cannot tell what passed among the said Borneans, when he was captured; he knows this and naught else.

And he declares it true, and affirms and ratifies the same. He is about twenty-five years of age. He

did not sign the above, but the interpreter Juan Ochoa Ttabudo, did so.

Before me:

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary

[The deposition of the above native's companion follows. It is of similar tenor to the above.]

And after the above events in the said settlement and river of Borney, on the said day, month, and year above mentioned, the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor and captain-general of the islands of the West for his Majesty, said that, because there was no fort where he could store and place the artillery, ammunition, and other material here at present, and in order that all might be kept safe and securely, he had ordered a fort to be constructed for the defense of his Majesty's camp, and of the Spaniards stationed in this settlement and river of Borney with his Lordship, where the said Spaniards might gather. He ordered a house to be built within it where the powder and ammunition now here may be kept; likewise a hospital, where the sick may be cured, and a house in which to store the provisions for the said camp. In order that his Majesty and the members of the royal Council might know of all this, he ordered me, the said notary, to testify thereto. I, the said Alonso Beltran, his Majesty's notary, certify by order of the said governor that after he took possession in the name of his Majesty, of the settlement on the said river of Borney, where at present he is lodged, he ordered the said fort and other buildings above mentioned to be constructed, and it has been finished with great despatch, with

the assistance, in all the work, of the men of his camp. In order that all this may be evident, he ordered me, the said notary, to make one copy, or two or three, or as many more as are required, of the said records, in which all and singular he interposed, and he did interpose, his authority and judicial decree, in order that they should be valid and lawful in court and out of court; and he signed the same with his name.

DOCTOR FRANCISCO DE SANDE

I certify thereto:

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary

The following is an exact and faithful copy of a letter missive written on paper in Portuguese, dated at Evora, March seven, one thousand five hundred and seventy-three, and bearing a signature, namely "El Rey" ["The King"], which was found among certain papers in the house of the old king of Borneo. The tenor of this letter is as follows.

Letter from the king of Portugal

Noble and honored king of Borneo: I, Don Sebastian, by the grace of God King of Portugal and of the Argarves, on this side and on the other side of the sea in Africa, seignior of Guinea, and of the conquest, navigation, and commerce of Etiopil [Ethiopia], Arabia, Persia, and India, inform you that Juao Guago de Andrado wrote me that, while passing your kingdom on his way to Maluco, as captain of his galleon, you sent to confer with him about certain things touching my service. Upon his entering, you communicated to him what I am very glad to know and for which I give you many thanks and express my appreciation. I beg that you will do, in

regard to the matters that you discussed with the said Juao Guago, and in regard to other things, whatever offers itself for my service, and that you send to petition in my name my governor of Malaca and the southern district, whatever you may be able to request; and he shall give it to you without delay and protect your affairs, as is fitting. Given at Evora, March seven, one thousand five hundred and seventy-three.

THE KING

(This copy was made and copied from the said letter of the said king, which was found on the river of Borney on the twenty-fourth of the month of April, one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight. Witnesses, who saw it compared and collated, were Francisco Pacheco and Alonso Falcon.

I certify thereto:

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary)

That which you, Captain Estevan Rodriguez de Figueroa shall observe on the expedition which you are about to make, God our Lord helping, is as follows:

From this city and island of Borney, God willing, you shall go to the islands of Xolo, where you shall endeavor to reduce that chief and his people to the obedience of his Majesty. You shall bargain with them as to what tribute they shall pay, which shall be in pearls, as they are wont to give to the king of Borney. You shall exercise great care and, if possible, much mildness; for it is of importance that those islands should not become depopulated; therefore, in case they receive you peaceably, you shall

treat them well. And, in addition to the above, you must order that, besides the tribute that they are to pay in pearls, they shall obtain as many of them as possible, so that we, the Spaniards or Castilians, may buy them; that they must trade with us from now on; that every year Castilians will go to their lands with cloths and merchandise from China, of whatever they shall declare that they may need. You shall inform yourself of their needs; and if they wish to come to our settlements you shall give them permission to go freely to Manila and to come to Borney, although not to steal.

Item: You shall find out from them the whereabouts of the artillery and anchors of a ship lost there some three years ago; and you shall seek it and see that it be brought you with all haste. You shall keep close watch over the artillery, ammunition, vessels, sails, and other like things pertaining to the armed fleet; and you shall deprive them of those supplies, for it is notorious that those people are common marauders.

And because of my information that the chief who calls himself lord of Xolo is a Bornean, and owns houses in this city of Borney; that he fought against us in the naval battle, and that he fled to Xolo, where he is now; and since I am told that he took two galleys and three small vessels, artillery, and ammunition – you shall exercise the utmost despatch to obtain the said galleys, vessels, artillery, and ammunition. If he acquiesce, you shall give him a passport. You shall see whether he has any children; and, if so, you shall take one, and tell him that he must come to see me in Borney in February.

And, as I have said, this must be done if possible

gently, in order that no people may be killed. You shall tell them that it will be to their advantage to be vassals of his Majesty, and our allies. If they do not act respectfully, and it shall be necessary to punish them in another manner, you shall do so. And inasmuch as the Joloans, as is well known, are open pirates, whose only ambition is to steal, and to assault men in order to sell them elsewhere – especially as they go annually for plunder among all the Pintados Islands, which are under his Majesty's dominion – you shall try to ascertain the Pintados slaves among them, in order to return such to their homes, especially those who are Christians. And, as I have said, you shall deprive them of such vessels as seem to be used for raids, leaving them their fishing-vessels, so that if the said lord of Jolo so desire, he can come to confer reasonably with me. Thus you shall ascertain who has vessels, and who can inflict injuries; and you shall command them expressly to settle down in their land, to cultivate, sow, and harvest, develop the pearl industry, and cease to be pirates. You shall order them to raise fowls and cattle. You shall try to ascertain their number, and bring it to me in writing, in order that I may see it, together with the distance from these islands to the Jolo Islands, information regarding the food, water, and healthfulness of that land, and other things that may occur to you. And you shall tell the people, in my name, that they shall tame for me a couple of elephants; and that I shall send for those animals and pay for them.

After having finished affairs in Xolo, if time permits you shall, God willing, go to the island of Mindanao. There you shall try, by the most convenient methods and with friendliness, to reduce the chief of

the river of Bindinao, and the other chiefs of that island, and of those near by, to the obedience of his Majesty – giving him to understand what they will gain in becoming his Majesty's vassals and our allies, and in having trade with us.

And, in order that the tribute may not prevent them from making peace with us, you shall not ask them for any tribute; but you shall take what they give freely, and nothing more, and in such form as they are willing to give. Thus you shall suit their convenience in everything pertaining to them, and cause them to understand the great expenses of his Majesty in this land. You shall also tell them that the gain therefrom affects them chiefly, since we come to teach them our civilization, and most of all the service of God, our Lord, who created and redeemed them, and of whom they are ignorant; and how to live in accord with natural law, as is their obligation. For this purpose you shall tell them that you are going to their land for two principal reasons.

The first is that they should cease to be pirates, who rob and harry the weak, and enslave wherever and whomsoever they can – selling their captives outside of their own island, and separating them from their wives and children; and that they must cease to commit other like cruelties and thefts, and must become good and virtuous men, who shall grow to merit the second and principal reason for going to their lands. You shall give them to understand that they are ignorant of God, our Lord, who created and redeemed them, so that when they know him they may serve him and become good. It is quite evident that they will gain very much in these things, and there-

fore it is right that they aid us and give us something. This shall be at their own will, as above said.

Item: You shall order them not to admit any more preachers of the doctrine of Mahoma, since it is evil and false, and that of the Christians alone is good. And because we have been in these regions so short a time, the lord of Bindanao has been deceived by the preachers of Borney, and the people have become Moros. You shall tell him that our object is that he be converted to Christianity; and that he must allow us freely to preach the law of the Christians, and the natives must be allowed to go to hear the preaching and to be converted, without receiving any harm from the chiefs.

And you shall try to ascertain who are the preachers of the sect of Mahoma, and shall seize and bring them before me. And you shall burn or destroy the house where that accursed doctrine has been preached, and you shall order that it be not rebuilt.

Item: You shall order that the Indians shall not go outside of their island to trade; and you shall seize those vessels used for plundering excursions, leaving them those which, in your judgment, are used for trade and fishing. You shall take also what artillery and ammunition they have.

You shall ascertain the harvest, seasons, and products of the land; the gold mines, and the places where they wash gold; the number of inhabitants, and their settlements; and their customs. You must especially secure information regarding cinnamon, in order to ascertain if it is found along the river, or if one must go to Cabite for it, and why it is not as good as that which the Portuguese take to Castilla. You shall ascertain how they cut and strip it from

the tree, and if it be of importance that it dry on the tree, or in what other manner it should be treated; for I have been told that that obtained from these districts in the past has not been good, and has not a good sale in España.

And, since it might happen that the people will not make peace, and may offer fight, and show disrespect, then you shall punish them as you deem best, taking special care not to trust them; for it is evident that before all else they will, if possible, commit some treachery. You must not await such an occasion, for we know already their treachery against his Majesty's fleet commanded by Villalobos, certain of whose men they killed under assurances of safety; and they seized a boat. In that treachery all the inhabitants of the islands were participants; for four or five thousand of the said natives attacked one small boat, which contained four or five Spaniards. Likewise many people took part in the killing of the said Villalobos's master-of-camp, and other soldiers, in that same year. You shall remind them of these things, and warn them; for, from now on, we shall destroy them and their generation.

And since it might happen that, without any occasion of war or peace, the said natives flee to the mountains, you shall order that certain of the said natives summon them; and, when they have come, you shall discuss the matter with them. If they refuse to come, you shall, in conformity with your orders, remain there a given time. And if they continue to refuse to come down, you shall leave them, and shall return, without permitting their houses to be burned or their palm-trees to be cut down. Neither shall anything be stolen from them; but you

shall take only what is absolutely necessary for food, and the food and other things necessary to provision your vessels for the return trip.

You shall try to secure information of the island of Linboton, as well as of Batachina and Celebes, so as to advise me thereof; and you shall do this in accord with the time-limit I have set for you to make this exploration, and you shall observe the same rule as in that of Mindanao.

In order that we may allot in encomiendas whatever people are found in these districts, you shall bring me a signed notarial writ. Thus, as those lands have no other owner, the natives thereof may be reduced to the obedience of his Majesty, according to his will – and by war, if the natives begin it, so that war on our part may be just, and that the same justice may continue, so that we can compel them to obey, and impose tributes upon them. You shall exercise much diligence in this and see to it that these orders be carried out carefully and intelligently.

God willing, I shall be in Borney by the end of the month of January next – or, at the latest, by the eighth of February – with the fleet and all the necessities that must be brought from Manila, and that which is here. And at that time your Grace shall come to Borney with the fleet that you have, and with all the people that you have or shall have in the Pintados, so that we may do here whatever is proper for the service of his Majesty, to which we are bound. These instructions must not be disregarded in any point, unless I advise you to the contrary by letter. And to this end you shall see that all who live and dwell there be commissioned for the

above, in addition to their other duties. Given at Borney, May twenty-three, one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight.

If the natives of Mindanao or of any other place shall give tribute according to the above, you shall act according to the usual custom in these islands — namely, you shall take one-half and place it to the account of his Majesty, while the other half shall be distributed among the soldiers. Given *ut supra*.

DOCTOR FRANCISCO DE SANDE

Before me:

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary

(I delivered a copy of these instructions to Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa, so that he should observe and keep the orders therein set forth. I certify thereto at this time. Father Fray Martin de Rada, to whom his Lordship communicated it, said that it was well arranged.

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary)

In the city of Manila, on the fifth day of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the said governor, in order to verify the above, summoned to his presence an Indian, who through the interpreter Juan Vicente declared himself to be one Matelin Magat Buxa Amat, a native of Bayan. Without taking the oath, he promised to tell the truth as far as he knew it, and in what was asked him. Being asked that he tell and declare who killed Martin, an Indian who was taking some letters to the king of Borney the past year, seventy-eight, and the reason therefor, he made the following declaration and deposition. This witness has resided in the said is-

land of Borneo from childhood, more than forty years. When the said governor was near the port of the bay of Borneo with a fleet, this witness and many other Moros went, at command of the king of Borneo, to fight with the Spaniards. He noticed that the battle was waged for some time, for this witness was one of those taken as captain of a vessel, until he and the other Moros fled. But this witness did not see the said Martin, who was carrying the said letters, killed. He knows, however, that a Moro named Sidata killed him with a dagger-thrust in the neck by order of the said king of Borneo. The wife of this witness buried the said Martin, for he was a relative of this witness. She buried him in front of the house of this witness where their relatives are buried. When this witness returned to Borneo, he learned of the said Martin's death, and that he was buried, and who had killed him. Also this witness found in the prison of the king of Borneo, in the middle of the said river, the other Indian, Magat, the companion of the said Martin, who had been entrusted with the said letters. He was a prisoner in the said prison, and had a chain about his neck, and his hands bound with reeds; and they had taken from him the gold chains that he wore on his neck. This witness knows that this said gold was taken by Panguilan Salalila, and afterward the king took it. The said Panguilan Salalila is the uncle of the king of Borneo. The said Salalila and many other Moros fought in the fleet of the said king of Borneo, in defense of the said port—for instance, Tumango, the said king's brother, Bandahala, the said king's nephew, and each man in his own vessel. Being asked what was done to eight [*sic*] Indians

who accompanied the said Indians entrusted with the said letters, this witness said that he did not know, for he was always in the fleet, fighting with the Spaniards. Afterward, inasmuch as the said Magat, who was imprisoned, was his relative, he went to the said prison to free him, and gave his jailer, by name Patimuhaurat, a large culverin weighing fifteen arrobas, and pledged himself to give him four slaves and two taes of gold. Thereupon the said jailer released the said Magat, and this witness accompanied him to a Spanish vessel. The said jailer and the other Bornean Moros fled. Afterward the said jailer returned to Borney, where this witness saw him deliver the said culverin to the flagship of his Majesty, by order of his Lordship. After a certain period this witness saw that the said governor with his fleet went to Manila, whereupon, in fear lest the said Moros should kill him, he came to this city. This is what he knows, and his deposition, and contains true answers to what he has been asked. He knows naught else, and has affirmed and ratified the above. He appears to be some fifty or so years old. He did not sign his name.

JUAN VICENTE

Before me:

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary

[Likewise the deposition of one Amiguicon, a native of Luzon, was taken. Its essential parts are as follows:]

Being asked how long he had lived in Borney and what he was doing there, he said, as above, that he is a native of this island of Luçon and that about four-

teen years ago he went to trade in Borney with property and merchandise. The king of Borney would not let him come to this city, and refused him permission therefor. Thus he made cloth for him and served him in war and did whatever offered until his Lordship came to Borney.

Asked what he was doing in Borney when the said governor went there, this witness said that, when the said governor arrived at the bay of Borney, he went out by command of the king of Borney in a galley with artillery, to fight with his Lordship's vessels. Other galleys and many soldiers went also. In the galley in charge of this witness were fifty-four fighting men, and more than thirty rowers. There were six pieces of artillery, two large ones at the bow and four culverins at the sides. In the vessel commanded by the son of the old king who reigns in Borney, by name Soltan Lijar, were twenty pieces, three large ones in the bow, and the others at the sides. All the said galleys and other vessels were about fifty in number, and all went out to fight with the fleet of the said governor. These fifty-four vessels consisted of galleys and large ships, besides many other small boats that sailed—sail-boats, *bancas*, and *barangayes*²⁵—all of which fleet was seen by this witness

²⁵ The *banca* was a sort of canoe made from a hollowed tree-trunk (like the American "dug-out"), sometimes provided with outriggers, to prevent it from upsetting, and sometimes with a roof of bamboo. The *barangay* is the most primitive and most characteristic boat in the Philippines; it is described as a sharp and slender craft, pointed at both ends, and put together with wooden nails and pegs. It is this boat which has given name to the primitive groups of the social organization; see Bourne's mention of these, VOL. I of this series, p. 56.—EDITORS.

"The people were divided or grouped into families, known as *barangayes* (the name of a small ship or vessel), thus preserving

as he set out for the port where the battle was fought. The said king of Bornei remained in his galley at the mouth of the river, anchored at an islet called Polocharami. After the Borneans were conquered, they all fled, as did this witness. After two or three days, this witness and other Bornean Moros came to the said governor, and begged him to pardon them; accordingly the said governor granted them pardon.

When this witness was asked whether he had seen an Indian, named Martin, and another, Magat, a chief of this island, and some six or seven other Indians who served them as oarsmen, whom the said governor was sending to the said king of Bornei with letters of peace, and what the said king did, he responded that he did not see the said messengers, but that he knew that they had gone with letters from the said governor for the king. This witness knew one of them, namely, Magat. Because this witness was with the said fleet at the entrance of the said port, he did not see what passed with the king, but it is well known that the said king had the said Martin killed, and the said Magat imprisoned, as well as the other Indians who served as oarsmen. They brought one of the said Indians, who served as oars-

the remembrance of the conveyance by which their forefathers reached the islands. As the various families came hither, each in its own barangay—all, during the voyage, being under the command of a *cabeza* (a head captain, or pilot)—the land was partitioned among them, so much for each family; while all continued, on the land, subject to the cabezas who had directed them on the sea. These in time were known as *datós*, or *maguinoos*. See the *Crónica* of Francisco de Santa Inés (Manila, 1892), i, p. 57; Noceda and Sanlucar's *Vocabulario Tagala* (3rd ed., Manila, 1860); Diego Bergaño's *Vocabulario Pampanga* (Manila, 1860); and Andrés Carro's *Vocabulario Iloco-Español* (Manila, 1888).”—REV. T. C. MIDDLETON, O.S.A.

man (who were from the port of this city [Manila]) to this witness, to be cured of a wound in the arm that had been inflicted upon him. This Indian is a slave of Don Agustin, chief of Tondo. The slayer of the said chief Martin was a Bornean Moro, named Siparardal. The said Magat was imprisoned, and his gold taken from him, and they wished to kill him. This witness knows that the said Borneans commenced the fight first with the Spaniards, firing many artillery-shots at them. They refused any alliance with the Spaniards; on the contrary, he saw that they mocked the Spaniards, and told them that they would all be killed and their fleet seized. Thus this witness saw that they set about the execution of this; for he was ordered by the said king of Borneo to go out in the said galley to fight with the Spaniards. As soon as the said Moros were defeated they broke and fled.

Instructions as to what Captain Don Juan Arce de Sadornil is to observe in this present expedition to the island and city of Borneo, which belongs to his Majesty:

The route and navigation, both going and coming, are known, and you have a pilot. Therefore I shall say nothing more than to warn you not to disembark on any of the islands, unless forced to by necessity, and then with a force of men, so that the natives may commit no treason.

When you reach the island of Borneo in the district of [illegible words in MS.] – the place to which Captain Esteban Rodriguez went for *contrayerva*,²⁶ and the people engaged in trade and gave informa-

²⁶ Meaning some plant used as an antidote for poison.

tion as to the condition of Borney – where, they tell me, is the *panguilan* ²⁷ Maraxa de Raxa, you shall halt at that coast to see if he is there, which you will ascertain from such Moro vessels as you will meet before reaching that place. And finding him there, you will give him my letter. You will ascertain from him the condition of affairs in Borney; the whereabouts of Soltan Lijar, and what he intends to do; whether Portuguese have gone thither, and if they are still there; and other things which may seem proper to you.

You are already aware that I left as commander in Borney the *panguilan* Maraxa de Raxa, and that I gave him a letter of assurance and friendship, and another to the *panguilan* Salalila; you must observe all friendship toward them.

As soon as you have arrived, you must confer with the *panguinals* [*sc.* *panguilans*]; you shall ascertain from some Indians whether the king of Borney has returned, and his condition, and that of the settlement. If these *panguilans* tell your Grace that you should not go to [the port of] Borney, but should remain where you are, and that they are going to talk to the king – or whatever other reasons they may adduce, your Grace will tell them that you are ordered to anchor at the island of Mohala, where the battle occurred, and that your Grace will await them there for conference; and your Grace will tell them that they should read my letters to the king. And, if it seems advisable to your Grace, you shall write to the king, briefly, telling him of the firm friendship that he will receive from me, and the

²⁷ Apparently a phonetic variant of *pangeran* (a Javanese word adopted in Borneo), meaning “prince.”

great advantage that will undoubtedly accrue to him in becoming a vassal of his Majesty, the king, our sovereign.

If the said panguilans do not appear, then your Grace will continue your voyage and anchor at the above-named place. You shall send my letters to Borney, with the following order. If either one of the panguilans is dead or absent, the letters shall be given to the other. If neither is found there, the letters shall be given to the king; if he is not there, then to the most influential man; and your Grace shall write him that he advise you speedily, and assign him a certain limit of time for the answer. Should you be informed that Raxayro, king of Xolo, is there, you shall write him also, observing the same order as the above.

You shall request from the king of Borney that he render obedience to his Majesty, King Don Ffelipe, our sovereign, king of Castilla and Leon; that he promise to observe it faithfully, as his vassal, and that he serve him in peace and in war in this land wherever his Majesty commands. If he does this, then I shall pardon him for his want of respect and his crime of last year, when he killed my ambassador, and commenced to wage war upon us, although we offered him good terms of peace.

Item: In acknowledgment of this subjection, he shall pay tribute to his Majesty, to consist of camphor, galleys, or other products of that land, and in the quantity not agreed upon with him, but to his pleasure – until his Majesty and I, in his royal name, order the contrary.

He shall promise not to receive pirates in that land, and that he will not despatch plundering expeditions

anywhere, nor permit any slaves to be taken from among the natives to China, or to the Portuguese, or to any other place, telling him that that island is depopulated thereby.

Item: That each year the king of Borneo and his successors send one or two vessels to this city to bring the tribute and to trade.

Item: That when I agree to settle in that island, he shall go to the place selected, with his people, or send there, and build houses and whatever else is necessary for the settlement, those who work at this to receive pay. In exchange for this, you will tell him the great advantages that will accrue to him from our alliance: that his Majesty will show him favor; and that, if he has any enemy who undertakes to war upon him, I shall defend him, and shall send thither the fleet of his Majesty, if he advise me of such need.

Item: If the said king declares that he will flee to the mountains, and refuses to come to confer with you, and shall not render obedience, then you shall try to remove his fear. If he shall persist in this, then you shall leave him without doing him any harm, telling him to send to me here, with letters, a Moro chief for conference with me.

If the king do not appear, and the city is inhabited, you shall treat concerning these matters with the most influential person there, in accordance with the above.

In order to send this message, you are taking Bornean Moros, to despatch them two by two. Everything that passes must be in writing and attested by a notary. You likewise have a letter from the daughter of the pangulian Salalila, telling the Bor-

means what good treatment I have accorded to the captives here, and how happy she is.

After having despatched what pertains to the above, you shall investigate the river of Tamaran. Without doing them any hurt, you shall summon that people, and examine the location of their land, and ascertain whether we can settle there; also the depth of the river, and the number of inhabitants. You shall decide with them about the tribute they are to pay; and, even if they do not pay any, or pay but little, you shall do them no harm. After examining the river of Baran, you shall return to this city as soon as possible.

If there are any Portuguese in Borney, or any should come while your Grace is there, your Grace shall give them a hospitable reception. You shall ascertain from them both the condition of their affairs and as much else as you are able. If they commence to show any disrespect or hostility, then your Grace will try with the utmost diligence to secure the victory. In no other circumstances shall you wage war with them. And should you come to hostilities with them, your Grace shall bring what they have to this city.

Even if the king of Borney should be fortified and have repaired his forts in Polocharami and Panigaran, your Grace will take no notice of that, but transact your business in accordance with your orders. Therefore your Grace shall in no wise fight, unless he commences it, as upon the other occasion. Then your Grace shall take what steps are necessary, since the thing is forced on you.

Your Grace shall see to it that your fleet of vessels remain together; and if any of them become sep-

arated in crossing the wide expanses of water in your course, you shall give orders where it shall meet you, so that all may be kept in order. In case you have to fight, you shall put the ship from Castilla in the front, and the others shall aid it, and, being lighter, can be used better for pursuit.

You shall exercise great care in regard to the musketeers, and put them in charge of an experienced man, and let opportunity be given them to advance.

Item: You shall exercise care, so that, if the Bornean galleys take the lead, they shall not separate from the Castilian galley and the Neapolitan fragata; likewise that the latter does not separate from the Castilian galley.

Item: You shall see to it that the Spaniards do not kill or steal any cow (for there are but few), so that the king of Borneo make no complaint.

There are cows in Borneo and in Mohala, in the island of Bencoraco. Notice shall be given among your people, so that these beasts may be preserved; in the river of Tabaron, where I have said that you must go, the men may kill swine and deer, if necessity arise, for there are many of these animals there.

Item: You shall not allow any slave, male or female, to be taken. You shall exercise great care in this, imposing the penalty of death on whomsoever shall steal them; and even should the natives wish to sell slaves²⁸ the Spaniards shall not buy them, if

²⁸ In this connection may be cited Rajah James Brooke's statement, as given by Captain Henry Keppel in his *Expedition to Borneo* (American edition, New York, 1846), p. 305: "The most detestable part of this traffic is Sheriff Houseman ["a half-bred Arab" pirate in Borneo] selling, in cold blood, such of these

they are natives of the same island. Given at Manila, February twenty-eight, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine.

DOCTOR FRANCISCO DE SANDE

By order of his Lordship:

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary

In the flagship "Espiritu Santo," on the fourth day of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the illustrious Captain Don Juan Arce de Sadornil said that, inasmuch as he is not taking a notary of his Majesty or a notary-public for the negotiations and legal proceedings that may arise in this voyage in the said galley and the other vessels of the said fleet despatched this year to the kingdom of Borneo, before whom the said proceedings and negotiations may be executed, in order that they may attest what happens; and inasmuch as it is necessary for his Majesty's service to appoint a skilful person to the said office: therefore, with entire confidence in the character and capability of Manuel de Caceres, and feeling certain that he will therefore fill the said office faithfully, in that manner and form most suitable to the requirements of the law, he appointed, and he did appoint, as notary of this said fleet the said Manuel de Caceres before whom shall pass the legal proceedings, suits, and other negotiations that shall occur, and he shall attest them as notary. I, the said Manuel de Caceres, being present, accept it, and swear before God, our Lord, and on the sign of the cross – which I do with my

slaves as are Borneons, to Pangeran Usop, of Bruni, for 100 rupees for each slave, and Pangeran Usop re-selling each for 200 rupees to their relations in Bruni."

right hand – to exercise precisely, faithfully, and legally, the said office of notary in the negotiations and proceedings which shall take place before me, and to keep secret whatever is necessary, under penalty of falling into the lowest infamy and perjury, and of being punished according to law. Witnesses are Andres de la Tubilla, Juan de Yepes, Sergeant Cristoval de Arqueta, and Don Juan Arce.

Before me:

MANUEL CACERES, notary-elect

In the galley “Espiritu Santo,” belonging to his Majesty, while it was anchored at the port of Mohala, in the island and kingdom of Borneo, on the twentieth of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, in the presence of me, the notary, and the undersigned witnesses, the illustrious captain Juan de Arce Sadornil declared that, inasmuch as his Grace came by order of the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor and captain-general for his Majesty in these Western Islands, to this said river, to see whether the said natives of the said river and city of Borneo were settled, as they were when subdued by force of arms by the said governor, and when he left them for the city of Manila; and to see whether Soltan Lixar, king of Borneo, had returned to his former village, and what was become of him, and what persons might be present in his stead; and that by all good methods he [Sadornil] should calm and pacify them, and give them the governor’s letters; and do other things set down clearly and ordered by the instructions given by his Lordship; and, inasmuch as the said captain had come to this said port of Mohala, but has been unable to have

any intercourse in regard to the above matters, as the said governor orders, although he has tried and done his utmost, and in the manner which his Lordship orders by his instruction; and inasmuch as, having arrived at this said port on this said day, and having seen many vessels leave the said port of Borney – which, although he awaited them and cast anchor for this purpose, never came to him so that he could hold communication with them, in order that the said Bornean Moros might become quiet and learn his Majesty's purpose, and that of his Lordship and of his captain in his royal name – to wit, that I am not to do them harm or annoy them, but on the contrary to protect and defend them; and that they might know the true God and the true pathway of salvation: therefore the said captain summoned to his presence Sipopat and Esin, Bornean Moros, whom his Lordship took to Manila last year. The said captain has brought them for this purpose, and given them to understand the above through the said Francisco Magat; and he delivered to them two letters from the said governor, written in our language and translated into the Bornean language, and signed with his name – one for the panguilan Marraxa de Raxa, and the other for the panguilan Salalila. He also gave them two other letters in the Bornean tongue for the said Salalila, which were written by his daughter and son-in-law in the city of Manila. The said Sipopat and Esin went to the said captain to take the said letters and to hear the message imparted to them by the said captain. They were to return with the answer that would be given them in the river of Borney. All of which, I, the said notary, attest, together with the witnesses present, to wit,

Father Baltasar de Miranda, ecclesiastical presbyter, Ensign Salvador de Sequera, Sergeant Cristoval de Arqueta, Luis Briceño, Bartolome de Tapia. And the said captain signed it.

DON JUAN DE ARCE

Before me:

MANUEL DE CACERES, notary

In the port of Mohala, in the kingdom of Borne, on the twenty-first day of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the illustrious Don Juan de Arce summoned to his presence the captain and pilot of a Chinese ship, which was anchored in the said port, each one of them alone; and before me, the said notary, through the Moro Simagat, an interpreter of the Sangley [*i. e.*, Chinese] and Spanish tongues, questioned them on the condition of affairs in the land, and whether the king Soltan Lixar had returned to his former settlement; and in regard to the panguilans Maraxa de Raxa and Salalila, and other matters pertaining to the service of his Majesty. They answered that they had entered the said port three days ago; that upon this said day the king and his people had received news of the coming of the Spaniards; and that the king of Borne had ordered them to enter the said river with another Chinese vessel there. But they refused because they did not know what would happen to them. From that time, when night came they began to annoy them with their small boats and conpites. They said that the king Soltan Lijar was in Borne, and that the panguilan Salalila had died by some disease. They had heard, from the fishermen who came to their boat to sell fish, that the king had a fort up

the river where he had placed the women and the food-supplies of the city when he heard of our coming. The said fishermen told them that the king had ordered a quantity of poison to be thrown into the water, in order to kill the people. They had heard even that the death of the said Salalila happened thus. They knew naught else, for they were come hither but recently. This is the truth, and they know naught else. I, the present notary, attest the same; and the said interpreter Simagat, as well as the said captain, signed it.

DON JUAN DE ARCE

Before me:

MANUEL DE CACERES, notary

And after the above events, on the twenty-second day of the month of March, of the said year, in the presence of me, the said notary, and the witnesses who here signed, appeared the said Moros Sipopat and Esin, whom his Grace had sent to the said city of Borneo. They brought a paper written in Bornean, which they said was given them by the king, Soltan Lijar. They declared that the said king had received the letters addressed to the said panguilans Maraxa de Raxa and Salalila, as the said Salalila was dead, and Maraxa de Raxa had gone to the river of Saragua. The king said that he wished alliance with the said captain, and therefore sent that written letter, in which he says the same thing. He wrote it so that the Spaniards might believe it. Likewise he had sent two caracoas, which came in care of the above-named envoys. And I, the said notary, and many others saw these boats. They came flying white flags, and anchored near our fleet. From there

they sent the said Moros, our messengers, in a *baroto*.²⁹ All of the above was interpreted by Simagat, Moro interpreter of the said language. The said captain having seen this, and because he had no one who could read the letter, gave a verbal response to the said Moros, through Simagat, ordering them to tell the king that he had no one who knew how to read and write the said Bornean language, and for this reason he did not write to him. He said that the wish of the said governor, and his own through the former's order, was that the king should become our ally, and recognize as seignior the king of Castilla, our sovereign; and that he should come to treat with the said captain, or send one of his chiefs, so that the latter might discuss the matter, since this was so desirable for his tranquillity and his honor. Thereupon he ordered the messengers to be despatched. The witnesses present were Luis Briseño, Alonso Lozano, Bartolome de Tapia, and many other persons.

DON JUAN ARCE

I attest the above:

MANUEL DE CACERES, notary

Thereupon on this said day, month, and year above-mentioned, a Moro whom the said captain said he knew last year as a slave of the panguilan Salalila, appeared then before the said captain Don Juan de Arce. The said Moro said that he was the above-mentioned person, and that he had come into the possession of the king through the death of his master. The king treated him badly; and, as soon as he knew that the Spaniards were in this port, he came to them.

²⁹ Apparently a sort of "dug-out," used mainly as a lighter, for unloading larger vessels.

Then the said captain, through the said Simagat, ordered the said Moro to be questioned about the death of the said Salalila, his master; the whereabouts of the panguilan Maraja de Raxa; whether the king, Soltan Lijar, was in Borney; where he had hidden when the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, the governor, was here last year; whether the said king was fortified; what artillery and provisions he had; and what he was now doing. This witness replied that his name was Sisian, and that he was a native of Sian. He came to this kingdom of Borney with his mother, and had always been the slave of the panguilan Maraxa de Raxa, and served the said Salalila likewise when occasion offered. After the said governor went to Manila, this Indian served the said Salalila the entire time. He saw that, some days after the said Maraxa de Raxa had despatched advice that the Spaniards had gone, King Soltan Lijar came to his settlement of Borney with about fifty vessels, large and small – among them being a galley of Manrijar in which was the body of the old king, his father, who had died at Baran, a few days before, from a disease. They buried him with solemnity in the river of Borney. With the said Soltan Lijar came the *vandaran*, who serves as steward and treasurer, and the *tumangan*, or chief justice, the panguilan Salam, and others. As soon as he entered the river, the other persons and panguilans who were fugitives outside the city began to return. The king began to collect all his artillery, and has collected by this time about two hundred pieces. He summoned all his Bisayan and Moro allies in order to build a fort, which he has built up the river, from palm-trees four brazas high. He placed there all

his artillery, wives, food, and provisions, as soon as he heard of our coming. Only the men stayed on the river, keeping close watch. As to the death of his master, as soon as the king had come, he asked Salalila why he had married his daughter to Don Agustín, chief of Tondo in the city of Manila, who had come to this said river with the said governor. He said that Salalila replied that he had done it for fear, and to please the Spaniards. Thereupon the king dissimulated until, after a month, there came a large galleon and a galley of Portuguese, who negotiated by letters and in person with the king, and went up to the city and traded about a hundred slaves, wax, and other goods. At the end of ten days the Portuguese left for Maluco; and three days after Salalila was dead, from a sickness that lasted less than half a day. It was a sudden looseness of the bowels, which proved so severe that, on getting up to ease himself, he fell dead. It was rumored among the people that the king had ordered him to be poisoned; but so great was the fear of the said king that no one dared to discuss it. It is now five months since the said Maraxa de Raxa left the city of Borney with two caracoas. This witness has heard it said that the king sent him to Tolobaran, and to all the other rivers as far as Saragua, in order to look for a good location in which to settle with all his people in a strong and well-provisioned place; and he has not returned. He knows nothing more of this. After the death of the said Salalila, the king took all his property and slaves, among the latter this witness. Because he was very tired and worn out in making the fort which he has mentioned, and in cutting wood for another fort, which the king intended to build on

the site where the said governor had settled near the mosque, this witness resolved to flee to the Spaniards, in order to go to the city of Manila to the daughter of the panguilan Salalila, his master. When asked how many Portuguese vessels came, and if this witness saw them, and if he went to them, he answered that he had gone to them many times with his master; that they were in a ship of deep draught and a large Castilian galley; that the galley was much larger than this flagship; that it carried ninety men and three large pieces at the bow, and falcons at the stern. The large ship carried one hundred Portuguese, eight large pieces, and many culverins. The crew of the galley, or rowers, were chained, and the galley was in poor condition from storms that it had suffered. In this port a mast and other equipment were made. And in regard to what he knows touching the hiding-place of the king during his Lordship's stay in this river, he says that it was well-known that he was in a river of Bisayas in the province of Malanao, near to Saragua. This is all that he can tell and no more. This his deposition being read, he declared it true. By his appearance his age must be about forty years. The said captain signed the above in the presence of many witnesses.

DON JUAN ARCE

Before me:

MANUEL DE CACERES, notary

After the above events, in the said port, this said day, month, and year aforesaid, the illustrious Captain Don Juan Arce de Sadornil ordered certain soldiers, before me, the present notary, and the witnesses here signed, to go in the Neapolitan frigate in

pursuit of a Bornean sail which passed near the flagship, flying a white flag of peace, to take the Indians who were in the said vessel, and bring them before his Grace, in order that they might talk with them, and learn what had happened in the city of Borney, so that he might take action more intelligently. In obedience to the said captain's order, the said soldiers went and executed the above-mentioned command, and captured a *tapaque*, with seven Indians. These men, when asked of what place they were native, and whether they were *amaguas* and slaves, and whence they were coming, answered through the said Simagat that they were natives of Borney and slaves of King Soltan Lijar, and that they were coming from the river of Baran to buy food. Questioned about the panguilans Salalila and Maraxa de Raxa, and the others, they said that the said Salalila had died from his illness, and that the said Maraxa de Raxa had gone to the said river of Saragua, they knew not why. Questioned as to where the king was, what he was doing, and where he was living, and if he had a fortress, and where – they said that at the river above Borney he had built a fort of tall palm-trees; that he was trying to build another in the city, near the mosque; that he was in the city, and was living in the houses there, which are usually of straw. They had heard that the said king had collected two hundred pieces of artillery, counting large and small pieces, but that he lacked ammunition. He had repaired a vessel – the one brought by the said captain from Saragua last year – to send it to the kingdom of Sian for artillery. Not long after the departure hence of the governor, they had seen a deep-draught vessel and a large galley at

the said city and river of Borne, with people and artillery. They had learned from others that they were Portuguese, and that they conferred with the king of Borne, and then went away. They knew nothing else. When questioned whether any among them knew how to write, they answered that two of them knew how. Each one of them singly interpreted the paper sent by the said King Soltan to the said captain. Translated into our language through the interpreters, the said Simagat and Sitaes, this letter was as follows.

Letter of King Soltan

I, Soltan Lijar, King of Borne, received the letters from Captain Don Juan to Maraxa de Raxa and the panguilan Salalila, because of the absence of the panguilan Maraxa de Raxa, and the death of Salalila, who died from illness. If Captain Don Juan wishes my friendship, I will be his friend, for I am willing to be such.

Then the said captain wrote a letter, which through the agency of Alonso Buytrago and the said interpreters was translated into the Bornean language and characters. After treating the said Indians hospitably, he ordered them to give the letter to the said king, and despatched them. I, the said notary, attest all the above. Witnesses are Ensign Salvador de Sequera, Sergeant Cristoval de Arqueta, Bartolome de Tapia, and others.

DON JUAN ARCE

Before me:

MANUEL CACERES, notary

On this said day, he immediately sent this letter to the said king, by means of the said Indians, in the presence of me, the notary, and the witnesses herein signed. The tenor of this letter is as follows, and was translated, as above said, into their language, by the aforesaid.

Noble and honorable king of Bornei:

I, Captain Juan, received a letter from your Majesty, by which I was informed that the letters which I had sent to the panguilan Salalila and Maraxa de Raxa had been received by your Majesty, because of the death of Salalila, and the absence of the other. I was very glad thereat, and to learn, as I did, that your Majesty was in this kingdom, rebuilding your so ancient and noble city, which is a token that you wish to live in tranquillity and honor, as now is shown. Your Majesty wished to take up arms last year, and, like a man without common sense, to make war on one who did not make war. The governor, Don Francisco de Sande, captain-general of our people, and of all these islands, on the contrary, had only a desire for the friendship of your Majesty and your people. It was God's will, therefore, that you be conquered; and, contrary to our intention, your town was destroyed. This was very little damage compared to the advantage that you would derive from becoming vassals of his Majesty, the king of Castilla, our sovereign, and the ally of the Castilians in this land; and from your people trading in peace throughout all this land, both with Spaniards and with the Moros of Manila, Balayan, Bonbon, Mindoro, Cebu, and any other district, so that the Borneans will become very rich and make great profits. If your Majesty makes an alliance with us, it is quite

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certain that you will find good friends in us – and so much so, that if any other king should molest you and you should have need of aid, the said governor will send his galleys and fleet to protect your Majesty, as if he were offering aid to our own Spaniards. If your Majesty refuses our alliance, then will ensue much harm, for you will never sleep secure in your bed. Neither will your vassals live in ease. The Spaniards are so brave and so daring that they regard fighting and dangers as a repast. Instead of thus offending them, I request you urgently that you should take good counsel as to what you should do, and quickly; so that, if you wish to make peace with me here, we may confer any time tomorrow. Or you may appoint a chief who will bear your letter of credit and authorization to treat, in your name, concerning what is necessary. If not, then I shall not be able to prevent certain damage that my people will commit, although my governor orders me not to commit any damage; and, to obey his order, I anchored in this port of Mohala. I shall stay here until I receive word as to your intentions, until the said time expires. And now, because I am told that your Majesty is a sensible man, and will study my reasons carefully, as is fitting, I shall say no more. May God give you much health, and grace that you may know Him. Written at Mohala, in his Majesty's flagship.

(This said letter was translated, and sent in the form and manner abovesaid, witnesses being Luis Briceño, Alonso Lozano, Bartolome Tapia, and other persons. I, the above-named notary, attest the same, which is drawn in the said galley in the said

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port, on the twenty-third day of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine.

I attest it: MANUEL DE CACERES, notary

In the said port, on the said day, the twenty-third of March, of the said year, the Indians Sipopot and Esin returned before the said captain and in their keeping were the said two caracoas. They anchored near by, and stated, through the said interpreters, that the said king declared that he would come next day to confer with the said captain. He would not come to his fleet, however, but on the coast of this said island, where each one would land with five or ten men, an equal number of Borneans and of Spaniards. They would treat for peace and of whatever else was fitting. The said Spaniards should not come in coats-of-mail, since they were to treat of peace. The said captain answered that he would be very glad to meet him as he proposed, and that he should come next morning. And if he did not come that day, then he would know that his reasons were only pretense, and that he was putting him off with words. Thereupon he sent the said Indians together with those who took the letter above set forth; and I, the said notary, testified thereto. Witnesses were Pablo Granado, Andres de la Tubilla, Alonso Lozano, and many others.

DON JUAN ARCE

I certify thereto:

MANUEL DE CACERES, notary

And after all the above events in the said port of Mohala, in the said galley "Espiritu Santo," on the twenty-fifth day of the month of March, one thou-

sand five hundred and seventy-nine, the illustrious Captain Don Juan Arce summoned to his presence Ensign Francisco Rodriguez, Ensign Salvador de Sequera, Ensign Pedro de Salasar, and Sergeants Bartolome de Tapia, Cristoval de Arqueta, Antonio Canedo, Francisco de Ribera, Melchior de Villanueva, Alonso Lozano, Juan de Chavarria, Luis Briceño, Cristoval Xuares, Baltasar de Bustamente, Juan de la Feria, Juan de Yepes, and Antonio Sanchez, for this purpose having ordered the rally sounded by trumpet. When these had come and with them the other persons and soldiers whom he wished to be present, the said captain took the instructions for this expedition given him by the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor and captain-general for his Majesty in these Western Islands, and auditor of his royal Audiencia of Mexico, and ordered it to be read publicly in the presence of the above-named persons. When it had been read and heard publicly by all, the said captain told them his reason for summoning them together to hear the said instructions – namely, that they might know that King Soltan had broken his word given two or three days previously. He said that he would come to treat with the said captain; and he had not sent messengers to excuse his inability to come, nor had he done anything else. Therefore it was proved that he had entertained them with promises, in order that he might collect and place in his fort the rest of his property. Especially was this proved more conclusively, for on this said day no fishermen had come, as was their usual custom, to the fleet to trade their fish. However they had come near to get their nets and a sort of weir with which they are wont to catch

fish. And although the captain wished to enter the city and river of Bornei, he did not dare to do so, in order not to violate the order of the said governor; for he had heard that they would not neglect to station some scout-boats in Bornei with some culverins and artillery, and that they would fire at us, and then take flight to the fort which was reported to have been built. Not being able to pursue them or attack them, because of having no commission for it, meant that he would suffer in estimation and lose reputation among them. This did not appear desirable to him, so he resolved to send some soldiers in a light vessel next day, with orders only to see whether they had the said fort, or had commenced to build it, in the islets of Polocelem³⁰ and Pangaran, in order to advise his Lordship concerning it. He resolved to wait several days, in order to make other inquiries, as he should consider best. The captain told all those present that they should examine this resolve to see whether it was proper. If any other thing could be done or ought to be done, more befitting his Majesty's service and that of the said governor in his royal name, he requested them to tell him; for if their advice was good he would accept and act upon it willingly. All of the above-named answered – not excepting any point – that nothing better could be done; that it was very well considered and ordained; that he should carry out his plan for the examination of the said islets in order to give his Lordship an account of them; and that, with this and the inquiries made by his Grace, he would have done everything

³⁰ *Pulo* (incorrectly made *polo* in the text) is a term used throughout the Malayan archipelago referring to a small island or islet; this name means, then, "the small island Celemin."

to which his commission obliged him. And it was not at all fitting to give the Moros any opportunity to say that we came back to make war upon them, especially without the orders of his Lordship. I, the present notary, attest all the above, which occurred as set down above, witnesses being Father Baltasar de Miranda, Juan de Santiago, Pedro Granado, the above-named. The said captain and the other witnesses signed the same with their names.

DON JUAN DE ARCE
PEDRO GRANADO DE AGUERO

Witness,
BALTASAR DE MIRANDA
JUAN DE SANTIAGO

Before me, and I attest the same:

MANUEL DE CACERES, notary

I, Manuel de Caceres, notary, appointed by the illustrious Captain Juan de Arce Sadornil in this expedition made this present year to the kingdom of Borneo, hereby attest to all that see this present, that from certain enclosures with nets, that are wont to be set near this fleet, certain Moros with their boats were wont to come hither to trade their fish. As we paid them and gave them good treatment, they returned, and thus they were wont to do. On this day more boats coming to the said enclosures, they drew up their nets, went away and did not bring us any fish, nor did they appear, nor do we know why they do not come. This argues the suspicion that their king or some one else has summoned them. At the request of the said captain, I give this present, so that

what is done in the galley "Espiritu Santo," in the said port of Mohala, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, may be evident. Witnesses of the above are Anton Sanchez, Baltasar de Bustamente, Juan de Santiago, and other persons.

I attest the same:

MANUEL DE CACERES, notary

In the port of Mohala, on the twenty-sixth day of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the said captain, in observance of the above decision, in the presence of me, the notary, and the witnesses hereunto signed, ordered Ensign Salvador de Sequera, accompanied by the men assigned to him, to embark in the Neapolitan fragata belonging to this fleet, in order to go to the islets of Polocolemin and Paingaran, in order to see whether the natives had constructed any fort, after the departure of the said governor to the city of Manila. When this was done, he should return without going elsewhere; and if he met Moro bancas and vessels, he should fly white flags in token of peace. He was ordered to try to open conversation with them; and, even if the said vessels were to fire some artillery, the said ensign and his companions were not to answer them. On the contrary, they were to fly the said white flag of peace, and to return to this fleet. Father Baltasar de Miranda and Alonso Cornejo were witnesses to the above, and the said captain signed it.

DON JUAN ARCE

Before me:

MANUEL CACERES, notary

After the above events, in the said month and year abovesaid, in the said galley, the said captain having ordered three soldiers in a light boat, one hour before dawn, to try to talk with some Indians, and, if possible, obtain information regarding the king, of the condition of his affairs, and other necessary things; and having brought the Bornean Indians prisoners, the said captain summoned each of them to his presence. Through the agency of the interpreter Sitahel, they were asked where the king and his people were, and what was decided upon. The first said his name was Usman, and that he was a native of this island of Mohala. The second day after the arrival of our fleet at this port, some of the king's slaves came in bancas, with orders that all the people should assemble up the river. This witness asked a slave of the said king where the latter was, to which the slave answered that on that day he was going to retire to the fort, where already were the women, artillery, provisions, and other things. He was to leave the tumangan and bandara in the city, so that these men might have ordinarily two or three scout-boats with artillery at the bar; if the Spaniards resolved upon going up the river or to enter it, they should flee to the fort. This witness went also the next day to the settlement of Borney, and found that the king had gone to the said fort, and that the said tumangan and the bandara were in the city. When asked why he did not go to the fort as did the others, he replied that, because he did not find his mantelin – who is a person holding the office of captain and sergeant, with forty men under him – in Borney, and learned that he was outside of the bar, he was coming in search of him. When asked how many

Portuguese vessels had passed there during the last vendabals, and what forts King Soltan has built or intends to build, he said that two vessels had passed – one of deep draught and a galley – and that they had traded as usual with the Borneans. The Portuguese went to the settlement, and the Borneans went to the vessels. In regard to the forts, the king had built one up the river where the people are gathered. It is named Talin, and is made of palm-trees three or four estados high. They are now busy constructing a mosque. This witness had heard that as soon as the said mosque was completed, galleys would be begun in the ship-yard. There was no fort at Paingaran. There is nothing else; and, the same being read, he declared it true. He appeared to be about thirty-three or thirty-four years of age. The said captain signed the above.

DON JUAN ARCE

Before me:

MANUEL CACERES, notary

[The deposition of another Moro follows, being in substance the same as the above, with a slight addition in regard to the panguilans Maraxa de Raxa and Salalila, which is similar to other testimonies concerning them.]

Then immediately, upon this said day, month, and year aforesaid, the said ensign, Salvador de Sequera, the ensign, Francisco Rodriguez, and the others who went in the said fragata as above said, to the said islets of Polocolemin and Paingaran, returned to the said captain. They said that, as they went upon this errand in accordance with his Grace's orders, they

met nine ships and some caracoas. As soon as these saw these vessels, they flew their white flag as a token of friendship, in order that the others should come to talk with them. But these ships refused to come, and fired some artillery at them. The said ensigns having witnessed this, the said Salvador de Sequera requested me, the present notary, to attest it, so that it might appear in the records. In response to his request I gave the present signed with my name. Then the said ensigns returned, without doing anything else than to make the said signs of peace. The natives refusing, as above said, to come, but on the contrary persisting in discharging their artillery, they returned, and declared this before the said captain and myself, the present notary. They signed the above with their names, as did also the said captain.

DON JUAN DE ARCE
FRANCISCO DE RODRIGUEZ
SALVADOR DE SEQUERA

Before me, and I certify thereto:

MANUEL DE CACERES, notary

Then in the said galley on this said day, month, and year above stated, the said captain, before me, the undersigned notary, summoned before his Grace, the said Usman, Amat, and two other youths, all Borneans. Through the mouth of the above-mentioned Sitahel, they were instructed that they should tell King Soltan, the tumangan, the vandara, and the other chiefs, that the said captain did not intend to enter the river, nor begin hostilities against him – although he had not kept his word and had tried to injure his men – because the said governor did not

wish any harm to be done them, nor that they and their town should be destroyed, but desired his friendship. For this reason he ordered that he [Sadornil] should not attack them, or enter his settlement, or do them any injury, under pain of being beheaded. Although the men brought by the said captain had seen his rudeness, and were desirous to retaliate, he had not consented thereto; nor had his Grace desired such a thing, that he might not exceed the orders of the said governor. Likewise they were to tell the said king and the others that, since peace with the said governor was so advisable, they should send a ship to confer and a person to treat concerning the said peace. If they would come, the said captain would wait two more days for them. Then returning to these men their weapons and vanca, and presenting them gifts and food, and showing them other good treatment, he let them go freely. They left, and I, the present notary, certify thereto – Juan de Santiago, Pedro Granado, and Sergeant Cristoval de Arqueta, being witnesses.

DON JUAN DE ARCE

Before me:

MANUEL CACERES, notary

In the said galley, “Espiritu Santo,” on the twenty-eighth day of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the said captain – having seen that the last Borneans sent as messengers by his Grace, on the twenty-third of this present month, did not return, but that, on the contrary, the above affair of Ensign Sequera had happened, who went to reconnoiter the island of Polocolemin; and that also no answer had been returned by the Indians de-

spatched on the twenty-fifth of the same month; and that the said Borneans, yesterday, the twenty-seventh of this said month, came with ten or eleven vessels very near this fleet, and when Ensign Francisco Rodriguez met them with a white flag and without arms, the said Borneans without any shame came leisurely to him, beckoning him with the hand, and then forced him to retreat. He gave an account of this to the said captain – when his Grace saw this, and that he could not make war upon the said Borneans, because of his Lordship's orders to the contrary and because their fort had been built up the river, where no galley or galleot could sail; and seeing that some of the reputation until then enjoyed by the Spaniards might be lost, and that no advantage was accruing to the service of his Majesty from his stay in this said island of Mohala; and that the people ran risk of becoming sick, not only from the waters of that land, but from the rains, the heat of the sun, poor food, want of exercise, and others difficulties: he ordered sail to be set in order to return to the city of Manila, and to give an account of the expedition to his Lordship, the governor. Thus he decreed, and ordered, and signed it with his name. Witnesses were Father Baltasar de Miranda, Luis Briceño, Alonso Lozano, and many others.

DON JUAN DE ARCE SADORNIL

Before me:

MANUEL DE CACERES, notary

Most illustrious sire:

In a clause of the instructions given me by your Lordship, you order me, on my return from the river and settlement of Borney, to visit the river of Tag-

uaran. But because I was informed that the said river is not navigable by galleys unless at extremely high tide, and to anchor near the shore meant some risk – for at the present season occur nightly heavy showers brought by the vendaval – and because the king is not peaceably inclined, and considering that all the land would revolt, I concluded that it would be useless for me to go thither, since the said river of Taguaran is on the way to Borneo, so that any one may very easily ascertain what he wishes. In my opinion, if we effect a colony in Borneo, the Spaniards must live where the king and the Moros are, in order to keep them under control. In any other way they will be always unmanageable. Whenever your Lordship wishes, I shall tell you some reasons that should induce us to make a settlement in no other place but where the Moros live. Given in this galley “Espíritu Santo,” belonging to his Majesty, on the twenty-ninth of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine.

DON JUAN DARCE

By order of his Lordship:

MANUEL DE CACERES, notary

The order which we must regard and observe in the voyage and navigation from here to Borneo is as follows.

The galleys shall follow the flagship, without preceding it, and at night they shall be vigilant, both in following the lantern, and in watching for certain shoals such as are wont to be in the sea, and for strange ships, as well as all else advisable.

When any galley encounters any danger and needs help, it shall discharge a cannon as sign of distress;

and all the other ships shall go to its assistance, to see what has happened.

The Neapolitan vessel shall go as much as possible in advance of the flagship; and, in case it should come upon any shoal or promontory that juts out too far, if it be daytime it shall return to give advice thereof; but if at night, besides turning to give advice, it shall fire a small piece of its artillery so that we may stop and take the necessary steps.

If perchance any galley should lose the route through either bad weather or any other cause not malicious, it shall continue its voyage to the island of Malaca, where the one arriving first will await the other.

Should any enemy attack us at sea, with intent to annoy us, the two Bornean galleys shall go to the flagship – that in charge of Ensign Francisco Rodriguez on the right, and that in charge of Antonio Cañedo on the left. The Neapolitan ship shall take up a position at the stern of the flagship, in order to assist in what is ordered.

The vessels shall take care always to anchor near the flagship, keeping watch over their oars. They shall be alert. From Malaca each afternoon they shall ask for a watchword, so that, if they meet any hostile ship, it may be known. A copy of these instructions shall be given to the other galleys, so that they may keep them. Given on the seventh of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine.

DON JUAN ARCE

Before me:

MANUEL DE CACERES, notary

The order to be observed at present by the soldiers

in this fleet, while anchored in the port of Mohala, or wherever else, is as follows.

First, although the natives of the river of Bornei are peaceful, they shall buy no slaves who are natives of the island of Bornei, even if the natives wish to sell them. If they wish to buy any slaves not natives of the said island, they shall not do so, except in my presence, in order that I may find out his native place, and whether or no he can be bought.

Item: No soldier shall dare to kill any cattle here or in any other part where they have them, so that the king of Bornei and the other natives may see that we do not come to harass them, but that we wish their friendship.

Item: No soldier shall disembark or go from his ship to take water or any other thing, except when the flagship takes in water, and he is summoned. Then the landing shall be effected with great care, and the commanders of the galleys shall signify what soldiers are to disembark. They shall be advised not to take any water that is not in a newly-made well, so that the water may not be poisoned by the natives.

Item: All the galleys shall keep close sentinel guard at night, and shall keep their arms ready. Each night they shall assign a watchword, and the galleys shall not fire any shot unless compelled by necessity.

Item: No one shall dare go to the Sangley ship anchored at this port, in order to avoid the insults and damage that the soldiers are wont to inflict on the said Sangleys. If they need anything, they shall send their slaves to buy it. They shall in no point infringe the above regulation, under penalty of punishment to him who shall act contrary to this, with all the severity allowed by law. In order that this paper

may be manifest to everyone, it shall be read and proclaimed in all the ships of the fleet, in the presence of the commanders. Given on the galley "Espiritu Santo," on the twenty-first of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine.

DON JUAN ARCE DE SADORNIL

By order of the captain:

MANUEL DE CACERES

(Thereupon, on the said day, month, and year above stated, I, the said notary, read and proclaimed the decree above set forth, by order of the captain, to the soldiers of the said galleys, in the presence of the commanders. They said that they heard and would obey it. Witnesses were Francisco de la Mesquita, Juan de Santiago, and Pedro Granado.

I attest the same:

MANUEL DE CACERES, notary)

I, Gonzalo de Santiago, notary elect, certify to all who may see this present, that, on the fourteenth day of the month of June, one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight, Rahayro, panguilan of Borney, who calls himself king of Xolo, surrendered himself as a vassal to his Majesty, King Don Phelipe, king of Castilla and Leon, for himself and his descendants. In token of recognition and vassalage, he gave twelve pearls and thirty-five taes of gold for himself and his vassals, which are the islands of Xolo, Treguima, Camboanga, Cavite, and Tavitavi, his subjects and vassals. The said Rahayro bound himself and his descendants from this day to recognize King Don Felipe, our sovereign, king of Castilla and Leon, and to be subject to the crown of Castilla and Leon;

and as such, he, the above-named, will give the yearly recognition and tribute which shall be assigned to him. This said vassalage was made by the said Rahayro, in virtue of an act of war. The illustrious Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa, captain of infantry for his Majesty, justified the war on his part. He had two engagements with the above king, one in the town of Xolo, and the other at the foot of a large rock in the open field. Having conquered them, just as he was about to enter their fort the said king of Xolo came out peacefully and rendered obedience to his Majesty, as above stated. Therefore I gave the present, so that the above declaration may stand in the records. Witnesses were Ensign Alonso Osorio, Sergeant Mateo Sanchez, Alvaro de Angulo, Rodrigo Sanchez, Luis de Santacruz, Juan Lorenzo, Juan Lope de Leon, and many other soldiers. Therefore I affix here my signature and accustomed flourish, in testimony of truth. The said captain signed it with his name.

ESTEBAN RODRIGUEZ

I certify thereto:

GONZALO DE SANTIAGO, notary by appointment

In the city of Manila, on the nineteenth day of the month of April, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor and captain-general for his Majesty in these Western Islands, and his auditor in the royal Audiencia of Mexico in Nueva España, declared that he has heard that a war-galley of the king of Portugal was lost on the coast of Mindanao, and in order to ascertain where it was going, and whose

it was, he ordered to be made, and did make, the following inquiries.

In verification of the abovesaid, the said governor summoned to his presence a man, who declared his name to be Bartolome Fernandez, a native of the city of Goa in Yndia. He said that he was there a free-man, serving as page a Portuguese named Luis Fragoso; and that he is a baptized Christian. The oath was taken and received from him before God and the blessed Mary, and on the sign of the cross, in the form prescribed by law; under which obligation, being questioned, this witness said that he left the city of Goa, in Yndia, about a year or so ago, in a galleon called "San Jhosef," under Captain Martin Lopez de Sossa, a nobleman. With the said ship was a merchant ship from Cochin. The said ship "San Jhosef," had one hundred old Portuguese soldiers, and one hundred others, young mestizos of that land. It was equipped with twelve large pieces and certain culverins. The soldiers were armed with arquebuses and other weapons. This said vessel was despatched to Maluco, by order of the governor of Yndia, Don Diego de Meneses, and the said Martin Lopez de Sossa was captain. In Malaca, more of the mestizos of Yndia, sons of Portuguese, were shipped, to the number of three hundred men. These with the mestizos brought from Yndia, made somewhere about five hundred men in the said galleon. A galley of twenty-four benches accompanied it, each oar being manned with three men. They carried lead. The galley was old and was given to them in Malaca by the captain of Malaca, named Arias de Saldeva, who is captain of the fortress. The captain of the sea is Matias de Alburquerque. Because of the

said Martin Lopez de Sossa falling sick, he remained in Malaca, very sick; and one of his brothers, Pedro Lopez de Sossa, came in his place as captain of the said galleon. Another nobleman, Tome de Sossa, a former page of the said Matias de Alburquerque, captain of the sea, was made captain of the said galley. This witness was aboard this galley, in the service of the said Tome de Sossa, who brought this witness from Yndia to Malaca. Thus the said galleon and galley, with the people above mentioned (of whom some fifty soldiers were aboard the galley and the rest aboard the galleon), set sail for Maluco in the month of August of last year seventy-eight. After sailing for a week, they anchored at Borney, near the island of Mohala. When they were there together, a banca with certain Bornean fishermen came to talk with the people of the ship and the galley. They asked who they were, and were answered that they were Portuguese. Then the said Bornean Moros said "We thought that you were Castilians, for we are expecting them daily to come for tribute." Thereupon they told them that a fleet of Castilians with many vessels and a multitude of people had gone there, and fought with them, and had plundered them.

It was current talk among the Portuguese, that they marveled that the Spaniards would have plundered the Borneans, for they considered that people as valiant, since they are accustomed to go to Malaca, Pegu, and other places for the sake of plunder, and Borney was very strong. Therefore they were surprised that the Castilians had taken them. They began a song sung by the rowers, which runs: "Borney, peak above peak in salt water; there

you go to eat buyo.”³¹ This song they sang because they formerly regarded the Moros as valiant men, and in jest. The said captain-in-chief sent this witness in this said fishing-boat, to talk with the king of Borney, because he knew the Bornean language. With this witness went an inhabitant of Malaca, one Quenana, a native of Malavar. They took a present to the said king of Borney; this was a carpet from Conbaya [Camboja], which was given to this witness to give to the king of Borney. He found him in a large house which belonged to the old king. This witness knew this, for he formerly knew the said old king of that land. The old king is dead and the said king is his son. He is a tall, fat man, and quite black. He was seated with many of his relatives, called panguilans, and his children and brothers. This witness saw and knew the tumango and mandahala, the panguilan Salalila, and many others. The said king of Borney was playing chess, seated in a hall with the said panguilans. This witness bowed low and made the usual obeisance, gave him the said carpet, and sat down. One of the king’s sons said to this witness, in his own language, that he talked excellently, and asked him his nationality. This witness told him, and the said king’s son gave him some buyo to chew. He remained with them some time. The king asked him what the Portuguese wished. This witness replied that they were on their way to Maluco, and were looking for some slaves for their galley, and for

³¹ The habit of chewing *buyo* is common through the Malaysian archipelago. It is prepared by wrapping a leaf of the betel (*Piper betel*) around a piece of the bonga-nut (the product of a palm, *Areca catechu*) and a small piece of lime. It is thought to stimulate the nerves, especially in the digestion of food; and is a notable feature on ceremonious and social occasions.

food. Thereupon the said king of Borneo ordered the vandahala to go to talk with the captain-in-chief in the galleon. The vandahala went in a small boat with thirty rowers and two culverins. When he left the king's house for the said vessel, the said people showed this witness some vireys, saying that they had taken them in battle from the Spaniards. They said that they had hanged one Spaniard, and threatened them. They said that the Spaniards had come in large vessels and with a numerous fleet, whereat they had fled to the mountains. They did not tell that the Spaniards had seized any galleys and artillery. The said bandahala went to the said galleon to talk with the said captain, Pedro Lopez de Sossa. He asked him, in the name of the king of Borneo, to help him fight the Castilians, who were about to return there for the tribute; and desired them to remain in the island. If he would winter there, the king of Borneo would pay him as much as he would gain in Maluco. The said Captain Pedro Lopez answered him that he was about to make investigations in Maluco, which was in bad condition, and could not remain in Borneo. It was likewise impossible for him to fight with the Castilians, for they were brothers. If he wished to ask for help, he must send to request it from the captain of Malaca. Likewise this witness saw two ships that they were about to send to Malaca. The said bandahala, thereupon, went to talk with the king. That night a Cafre blacksmith, a Christian, one Luis, fled from Borneo to the Portuguese. He told the said captain, Pedro Lopez, that the king of Borneo had ordered that the Portuguese who were in Borneo at the arrival of the Castilian fleet should be killed; that the king had robbed them

of their possessions, and that some sailors had fled with the vessel. When the said captain Pedro Lopez heard this, he was angry at the Borneans, and sent the small boats to bring men from the galleon (for he was in the galley), saying that he intended to enter the river to fight the said Borneans. The next morning the said bandahala tua, that is to say, "old man," came in a ship. The Borneans brought fowls, sugar, fruits, *tampo*, and other things, to sell. They brought no presents. The said captain, Pedro Lopez, seized the said vandahala and about thirty rowers with him, and put them in the said galley, with the intention of keeping them prisoners. The said vandahala asserted that they had not killed the Portuguese, nor robbed them at all. The said captain, Pedro Lopez, sent the said trader Quenenia to talk to the king, and to ask him why they had killed those Portuguese. The said king replied that he knew of no such thing, and that the tanguilans of the mountain had killed them. Afterward the said captain, Pedro Lopez, said, "Who is deceiving me in these things among these Moros?" He then set free the Moros, and left the said trader Quenena, in Borney with a pack containing seven or eight hundred pieces of cloth, so that he might trade it for camphor, wax, and tortoise-shell, and then go to Malaca with it in one of the two ships that I said were about to sail to Malaca. The said captain bought eight Javanese slaves, and the king presented to him two more, making a total of ten. Each slave cost ten pieces of *caniquí*,³² which we valued at three *vardagos*, each *vardago* being worth one *patagon*, which this witness thinks is about equivalent to two Manila tostones. Then weighing

³² Fine East Indian muslin.

anchor they proceeded on their way to Maluco. The galley anchored at the river of Tabaran to look for food. They bought there swine and fowls, receiving five fowls for one piece of *caniquí*. From there they sailed near a large island, called by them island of Xordan. There a storm with a vendabal struck them and destroyed the said galley, which was old. It sprang a leak under the keel, and was driven upon some rocks near Cabite, at an island near Canboanga. There the said galley was lost with all its food, artillery, and ammunition. Five Portuguese were drowned, and two others were killed by the Moros of that land. All the Cafres and slaves who were chained were drowned. About forty Portuguese and twelve Cafres escaped. They scattered into different parties, so that the natives should not kill them. This witness fell into the power of some natives of Camboanga, who made him prisoner. A Spaniard brought this witness and others recently, when they came with his Majesty's spice. However, this witness did not see what became of the said Spaniards, nor what became of the galleon, except that he heard that the galleon collected the men in its small boats and finished its voyage, by taking another tack, as he heard from the natives of Camboanga. Therefore this witness never saw the said galleon again. He heard also that the said galleon had broken its mainmast. This is what he knows, and his deposition. It is the truth, on the oath that he took. He affirmed and ratified it. When this witness was asked if he had been in Maluco, and requested to tell what he knew of matters there, and why so many Portuguese should go there, he declared that he had heard it stated publicly and openly in Yndia and in Malaca,

and that he heard Diego de Sanbucho, a noble inhabitant of Malaca, now there, say that the fortress of Maluco, which the Portuguese held in Terrenate, was lost to them three years ago. For after the death of Gonzalo Pereyra, who had gone with the Portuguese to fight at Cebu, and who had died at Maluco after his return there, the noble above named, Diego de Sanbucho, was captain of Maluco. He found that certain of the married men had gone to live at Anbon and others to Malaca, and that they had taken all their cattle and artillery with them in two galliots, which they now have at Anbon. The cause of the loss of the said Maluco was the revolt of the said natives and a war because a Portuguese had killed their king. Immediately the people revolted, and besieged the Portuguese. They died from hunger, until the survivors abandoned the fort, going to Anbon, as I have said; only two Dominican fathers remained. The said inhabitants of Maluco refused to give cloves to the Portuguese, and sold them to the Javanese, who in turn sold them at Malaca. The only cloves brought were those of Anbon, and only one ship-load at that. The Portuguese go to Anbon by way of Jaba, across from Borney, since Maluco was lost; the present fleet came by way of Borney. On account of these troubles, it is sailing straight for Maluco, in order to construct a fort to fight with the natives. Another galleon, the "San Juan," under Captain Martin Alfonso, a noble, is in Malaca, and is about to go to Anbon; and it must go by way of Jaba, opposite the coast of Borney. With the few men whom it can take, and those whom it can secure at Anbon, it must go with them all to Maluco to aid the said captain Pedro Lopez to oppose the inhab-



“Incola ex Insulis Moluco” (picture of a Moluccan warrior), from *Voyage ofte Schipvaert*, by Jan Huygen van Linschoten (Amstelredam, CIO. IO. XCVI)

[From original (in colors), in Boston Public Library]

itants of Maluco. This witness knows, too, that the Portuguese captured a son of the king of Maluco, named Don Francisco, whom they took to Yndia. This witness saw him lately at Malaca. He has heard that the people of Maluco begged that he be given up, as he is their king, and that if he is restored they will make peace and surrender the fortress. With the said Don Francisco are three of his relatives, one Don Enrique, one Pablo Desa, and the third Jordan de Fletes. Don Enrique is undahala at Malaca, which is the office of judge among the natives. The vessel which is going by way of the coast of Jaba to Anbon must lay in a good supply of food from Xaba. This witness knows further that a queen of Xaba is at war with the Portuguese; she is the queen of Xapara. Consequently the Javanese refuse to take food to Malaca, which is furnished by the king of Pegu. This witness has heard that the king of Pegu has made dependents of the kings of Sian and Patan. The Portuguese have war likewise with the king of Bintan, for the latter married a daughter of the king of Achen who is hostile to the Portuguese. This witness has been twice in Maluco, and has seen what he has described. At the entrance to the port is a rampart, and, farther in, the fort where the said Portuguese live. They have a vault there in the middle of the court; and, even if the fort be burned, the court inside is not burned.

When asked what became of the artillery of the galley which was lost on the coast, he said that the king of Mindanao, who is an old man, heard of the loss of the said galley there, and went there with forty vessels, and that the people of Samboanga seized the said artillery, which they had taken from

the galley and took it ashore at the river of Mindanao. He said that the people of Samboanga burst one piece; and the Spaniards took it, along with two grappling hooks, and brought it to this city. All the above is the truth. This witness said also that the said galley that was lost carried nine pieces of artillery – amidships a large round swivel-gun; at the bow and along the sides, two large chambered falcons; at the stern two more; and at the sides four culverins, two on each side. The chief of Taguima took two culverins, and the king of Mindanao took all the rest. This is the truth, on the oath that he has taken; and he affirmed and ratified the same, but did not sign it. He is about thirty years old, a little more or less.

DOCTOR FRANCISCO DE SANDE

Before me:

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary

Captain Ribera's Instructions

The instructions that Captain Grabiél de Rivera must observe in the expedition that he is about to make, at my command, to the island and river of Mindanao, are as follows.

First, you shall go to the port of Çubu, where are the artillery and ships of his Majesty brought from Borney by Captain Esteban Rodriguez, and the other supplies left there by him. You shall take all of these supplies that you may need for your expedition as well as the necessary soldiers and food. The soldiers shall be taken from the inhabitants of the said city, and from the soldiers taken for the said expedition by Captain Juan Lopez de Aguirre. This

latter shall deliver his men to the magistrate there. You shall choose from them such men as you desire, since you have the affair in hand. You shall try to take some men belonging to the captain and chief named Quilantan, as, they tell me, he is acquainted in the river of Bindanao.

As you know, Captain Esteban Rodriguez went last year by my orders to pacify the river of Mindanao. Because of the lack of provisions, the current of the river, and other causes, he did not carry out my wishes – namely, to explore that river and all its environs personally, and to wait there some little time to try to get them to make peace. I ordered him to represent to the natives how advantageous it would be for them to become his Majesty's vassals and our allies. He was ordered to treat them well, and to use kind methods and persuasion with them; and not to use force, or plunder them, burn their houses, or do any other damage to them. And that they might become friends, he was not to ask tribute from them, and should exercise no force in this regard. He was merely to tell them of his Majesty's heavy expenses in this land, and the many hardships endured by the Spaniards in going to civilize them, and to teach them how to live in accordance with the law of nature, so that they might understand the chief requirements – namely, to become Christians and recognize the true God, who created and redeemed them; and in order that they might cease to do evil to their neighbors, and to commit other cruelties and robberies. And it is just that, since so much is spent by his Majesty, and by the Christians who go there, that the natives should on their side aid somewhat, since they benefit there-

by. But the said captain was ordered that whatever they gave should be decided by the natives themselves. In observance of this the said Esteban Rodriguez did them no injury whatever; but they fled. And because, when the Spaniards went to attempt to pacify them, as I have heard, the natives killed those who went as ambassadors to them (among whom was a vassal of his Majesty from the island of Jolo), you will investigate this matter in the city of Nombre de Jesus among the soldiers who went on that expedition, in order that you may have the necessary foreknowledge. And if they really killed those who went on an embassy to them – a barbarous and cruel act – and if they are wont to display such treachery, then you shall punish them as you deem best. I leave this to your own judgment advising you that in his Majesty's fleet, commanded by Villalobos, they killed certain men, under promise of security, and seized one of his boats. In this treachery they all shared, for one boat containing three or four men was attacked by three or four thousand natives. They killed also the master-of-camp of the said fleet. This will warn you not to put any trust in them, or to allow them time or opportunity to enable them to commit any treachery. You will keep strict watch over your ships and men.

Although you have the said information and you understand clearly that they are evilly inclined and have committed the said crimes, you must begin by trying to make them peaceable by kind methods, as above stated. If they are unruly and it becomes necessary to punish them, you shall do it. And if they give no occasion for either peace or war but flee to the mountains, then you shall wait for them with all

the prudence possible, and such as I expect from you. You shall endeavor always to see that the soldiers and troops commit no depredations. If the said Indians come peaceably and with friendliness, you shall receive from them what they offer, as above stated. And you shall give testimony, before a notary appointed by yourself as to the way in which the natives of those regions place themselves under the obedience of his Majesty – by their own wish, or by act of war, if they commence it; so that, as far as you are concerned, you may have permanent and just authority to compel them to obey and pay tribute. In this matter you must exercise care and diligence, for it is an affair which needs accuracy, so that the land may be allotted according to the instructions of his Majesty. And in such case you shall agree with the natives upon the season when the Spaniards shall return thither next year; and tell them that they shall come here freely, if they wish, for intercourse and trade with us.

You shall bring in writing a memorandum of the times of harvest and the products of the land; the gold-mines and places where gold is washed; the number of inhabitants, their settlements and customs; whether that river yields cinnamon, and how it should be treated in order to make it good.

Item: You shall obtain information regarding the islands of Limboton³³ and Celebes, the course thither, their products, and bring me a clear statement thereof.

Item: You shall order that no Indian be sold outside the island, representing to them how cruel it is

³³ Probably referring to the island now known as Boeton or Butung, lying southeast of Celebes.

to sell the men of their own land, and that by such an act they offend God and depopulate the land.

Item: You shall order that they cease to rob, within or without the island, warning them that such is an offense to God, our Lord. .

And because I have heard that one of the ships of Villalobos was lost for want of a small boat, and in it two large anchors and one half sacre (weighing fourteen quintals, and named "San Marcos"), twelve culverins, and certain pieces of iron ordnance, you shall try to get hold of them all, employing therein much diligence.

You shall try to ascertain where their artillery is, and to secure it, for it is very material that they remain at peace.

And inasmuch as the chief of Mindanao has been deceived for some time by preachers from Borneo who preach the doctrine of Mahoma, and it is said that there are preachers there endeavoring to convert them all into Moros; and since our main intention is to convert them to Christianity: you shall order them to admit no more such preachers of the sect of Mahoma. And if you can ascertain who they are, you shall try, to the best of your ability, to bring them here; and shall burn the edifice wherein the accursed doctrine was read and taught, and shall order that none other like it be built. You shall tell the said natives that I will send Christian fathers there, who will instruct them; that already the mosque at Borneo is burned, and that there are now no more Bornean preachers. You shall also tell them what occurred in Borneo last year.

You shall examine the entrance and port in the river and the ships of the natives; for it will be al-

lowable to take from them those used for piracy, leaving them their fishing and trading vessels.

If the said natives pay tribute, it shall be disposed of in accordance with the custom of that land – namely, one half shall be reserved for his Majesty, and the other half shall be divided among the soldiers, as an aid in their necessity.

And since all the importance of this expedition lies in patience and comfort (because the Indians, having seen that they would soon have to yield, refuse to come down from the mountains), you shall try to make yourself as comfortable as possible, paying special attention to the health and welfare of your troops. And you shall carefully study the country in general, and its water and food-products, so that you may inform yourself better, in order if possible, to preserve health, which is the principal desideratum. In order to guard the health of your men, I charge you specially that you take good care of your sick. You shall put a soldier of good temper in charge of them who shall minister to them. From whatever gold or other property of his Majesty's you may have, the sick shall be provided with fowls or whatever is necessary. You shall especially forbid the soldiers to eat bananas or sugar-cane, or other harmful things, and see that they live decently.

You shall find out from the Indians of that land whether they sail or go to Maluco. You shall ask them whether there are any Christians there; and if there is any Cafre or Christian in Bindanao, you shall secure him.

Having completed matters at Bindanao, you shall return to the port of Cavite.³⁴ Thence, with what men

³⁴ Evidently the old port in Mindanao so called.

you deem advisable and with interpreters from Taguima, you shall go to the island of Jolo, where Captain Esteban made an agreement with the king of that place to pay tribute to his Majesty. You shall tell that king that I left Borney for certain reasons, and that I send this other fleet there for the purpose of telling him that he should abide by his obedience, in order not to receive more harm.

You shall ask tribute from the lord of Jolo, but this shall be paid at his pleasure and be very light, inasmuch as he has rendered obedience to his Majesty but recently, and because of the good will he has shown in his Majesty's service, in sending a letter and returning eight slaves that he had there who were taken from the island of Cebu, who were vassals of his Majesty. However, in return for that, Pedro de Oseguera wrote me that two men from Jolo, who had been captured by the men of Cebu, had been given up. If there are any more Joloans there, you may take them, first seeing whether they are Christians and whether they go of their own free will. The priest at Cebu shall declare what it will be right to do in this. You shall tell the said lord of Xolo also that, if he wishes to ask anything else of me, he shall despatch ships hither. They shall be secure from injury, for I have ordered that none molest them; and you shall give him my letter that you have with you. You shall give him a written permit, so that his people may pass freely through our territory, if they show the said letter to the people of this land.

Captain Esteban Rodriguez told me that the lord of Xolo had told him that he would have two or three tame elephants for his Majesty's tribute. You

shall ask for them, and if he gives them, you shall bring them here with the utmost care. For that purpose you shall take, wherever you find it, such ship as is most suitable. If he has no tame ones to give you, you shall tell him to have them, at all hazards, next time the Castilians go thither. You shall ascertain the time and manner in which they can be brought here.

You shall likewise show yourself very affable to the lord of Xolo. You shall urge him to persevere in the pearl industry. Both from him and from the inhabitants of Mindanao, you shall ascertain what things they need from China, so that other methods failing, those articles may be taken to them from here.

Inasmuch as Captain Esteban Rodriguez brought certain anchors and pieces of artillery from that island, and did not sound the place where a ship was lost in a storm from the north, if you have opportunity, you shall be careful to do so, taking care to return before the season for sailing is past. On your return you shall see whether Captain Juan Lopez de Aguirre left any cinnamon because unable to bring it in the vessels of his fleet.

Item: When you return by way of Cubu, you shall bring back all his Majesty's vessels there, as well as all the artillery left there by Esteban Rodriguez. You shall bring also a relation of present and past occurrences there.

You shall try to ascertain whether there is any cinnamon in the river of Mindanao. If so, you shall try to bring some of it. You shall try to find out how to treat it, so that it may be of as good quality as that in Castilla; for his Majesty has had us notified that

that sent from these districts has not been good. On your way to Çubu, you shall send some one to pacify the tingues [hill-people] of Butuan and to examine the towns reported by Juan Gutierres Cortes, in order to discover the people and ascertain their number and their location. You shall send a cautious man for this, who shall investigate such matters as are necessary. When you leave Çubu, you shall order Pedro Navarro to send to this city all his Majesty's ships in that place, and the artillery taken there by Captain Esteban Rodriguez, as well as whatever else he has there in his keeping, in charge of a careful man. This must be accomplished by the bonanças of April, for the artillery can be brought more securely then. If any soldier or any one else should die, you shall make an inventory of his possessions, and keep the same. You shall note his name and his birthplace, so that there may be a good account and relation of everything.

Given at Manila, January fifteen, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine.

DOCTOR FRANCISCO DE SANDE

Before me:

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary

In the city of Santisimo Nombre de Jesus, in the Filipinas islands of the West, on the eighteenth day of the month of February, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the illustrious captain Grabiell de Rivera—a person who by order and authorization of the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, of his Majesty's council, auditor of his royal Audiencia established in the City of Mexico, and his gov-

ernor and captain-general in these islands, is about to go to pacify and explore the river and island of Mindanao – said that, inasmuch as it is necessary to appoint a notary for the said expedition, in order that he may handle and despatch the business that will arise during it; and inasmuch as Diego Lopez Carreño is a skilful man and qualified to take charge of this: therefore he appointed, and he did appoint, him as notary of the fleet and expedition. He authorized him fully, in so far as he himself is authorized by his Lordship, to enjoy and exercise this power. He ordered him to take the oath and execute the formalities required by law, for the exercise of this power. Then the said Diego Lopez Carreño, who was present, accepted it, according to the order of the said captain. He took the oath before God and the blessed Mary, and on a sign of the cross, upon which he placed his right hand, to exercise the office well and faithfully to the best of his knowledge and understanding, and to commit no fraud, equivocation, or deceit; and, if he did thus, may God so reward him; but if not, then may he be proceeded against.

He affixed his name thereto. Witnesses were Tome de la Ysla, Pedro Navarro, Grabiél de Ribera.

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary

Off the coast of the river of Mindanao, when sailing toward the said river, on the thirteenth day of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the illustrious captain, Grabiél de Ribera, met off the coast of the said river, a small boat. His Grace ordered it brought to the side of the flag-

ship, in order to find out whence it was coming and whither bound. When it was brought, it appeared that certain Indians were aboard; through the interpreter, Miguel Godines, who understands the language of the said Indians, they said that they were slaves of Limansacay, king of the said river of Mindanao. The said captain feasted them, gave them some articles that he had brought in his galley, and ordered the said interpreter to inform them that he had come by order and authorization of the very illustrious governor of these islands; that he came in his Majesty's name to pacify the said land, to pacify and quiet the said natives, and to make them friends, vassals, and servants of his Majesty, as are the natives of the other islands. As vassals of King Don Felipe, our sovereign, they would be greatly profited, would be protected and aided by the said governor, and his Grace would now protect them in whatever arose and in what they most desired. The reason why he wished to have peace with him, and with the other chiefs of the said river, was because his Majesty wished them to understand the great error and delusion that they labored under, and to recognize their Creator and Lord, who is the only true God. And because they were Indians who could not write and slaves of limited understanding, the captain did not discuss with them more fully his Grace's reason for coming. He asked them to tell the said Limansacay all the above things, and told them that they should have no fear or suspicion of any thing, for his Grace had no authorization to injure or molest them in any way, but only to entertain and protect the said Limansacay and the other chiefs of the said river, as had been done in many other districts, and

as is done with all the natives of all the islands. Thereupon the said Indians went away, without any harm or insult being offered them; on the contrary they were feasted.

To all of the above I attest, for it occurred in my presence. Witnesses are Pedro de Oseguerre, Tome de la Ysla, Ensign Melchor de Torres.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary-elect

Off the coast of the river of Mindanao, four leagues from the said river, on the fourteenth day of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the illustrious captain Grabiél de Ribera, sailing toward the said river met a small boat, and in order to take in water and ascertain their position, ordered it brought to the flagship. When it was brought, it appeared that it contained a Boholan Indian, named Umapas, married in the said island of Mindanao. Two of his brothers-in-law, natives of the said river, accompanied him. Through the interpreter, Miguel Godines, they were asked whence they came and whither they were bound. Through the said interpreter they answered that they were bound for the city of Manila, at the order of Limansacay, king of Mindanao; and that they were taking to his Lordship, the governor, two gold-embazoned daggers, and two great loaves of wax. Furthermore, the said king ordered them to collect five taes of gold owed him by some Indians. All this, they said, was to be given to the said governor in token of recognition and peace, which they were

going, in the name of the said king Limansacay, to ask from the said governor. Upon hearing this, the said captain informed the above-named persons that his Grace was going in the name of his Majesty and by order of his Lordship, in his royal name, to pacify all that region, and to make peace with all the natives thereof.

Therefore his Grace took them with him to the very mouth of the said river, and from there despatched the two brothers-in-law of the said Umapas, who are natives of the said river, in order that they might advise the said Limansacay, king of the said river, that his Grace was commissioned by the said governor to treat with him for peace and alliance, which his father Asututan, now defunct, had requested from King Don Ffelipe, our sovereign. In consideration of Umapas's fear and premonition that the king would behead him if he returned, his Grace despatched the two said brothers-in-law. He ordered them to tell Limasancay, king of the said river, when they reached his presence, of the good resolution that his father had taken, and his great zeal in making peace with his Majesty, and with the governor in his royal name; that his Grace was ready and prepared to receive them as vassals of his Majesty, in whose royal name he was come; and that the king would take them under his royal crown and give them his royal aid. They would be protected and aided on every occasion that might arise, and whenever they needed it. In order to ascertain what were King Limasancay's purposes, and what he intended to do, his Grace would await a reply to it all, for one natural day [*i.e.*, twenty-four hours], anchored at the mouth of the said river of Mindanao.

He ordered all the above to be set down in writing, that it might stand in the records, and affixed thereto his signature.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA
MIGUEL GODINES

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary of the fleet

On the coast of Mindanao, two leagues, more or less, from the said river, on the fourteenth day of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the illustrious captain Grabiél de Ribera ordered that the following instructions be imparted to all those in charge of the warships taken by the said captain for the conquest and pacification of the said river and island of Mindanao, and that they should keep it in its entirety.

First, the fragata acting as flagship shall enter first, having on its right the other fragata under command of Sergeant Lope de Catalaraga, and on the left, the two vireys – in order that they may be at hand, if it is necessary that any message be despatched.

Immediately shall enter successively the two Bornean galleys, in charge of Tome de la Ysla and Juan Rodriguez de Norvega, so that, should it be necessary to fire their artillery, they may do it when the fragatas discharge theirs, for which I shall have the trumpet sounded.

The two virocos shall form a rear-guard, preceding the other viroco, which has a lack of men. All of them shall sail as closely together as possible, and those which sail faster shall await the others, so that we may all keep in order.

No arquebuse shall be fired unless it is necessary, and no one shall disembark without my permission and order.

I order you to observe great care in all the above, and even more in looking after the provisions in your vessels; for we do not know how long we shall stay in the said river, nor do we know whether we can procure provisions there, and because of the long distance from this said river to the town of Santisimo Nombre de Jesus, where we could find the articles necessary for the support of the said fleet. I order you to observe and obey all the above, and not to violate these provisions, under penalty of punishment. I order that all the above instructions be read to each commander of the said vessels, so that he may know it.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

By order of his Lordship:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary of the fleet

(On the said day, month, and year aforesaid, I, Diego Lopez Carreño, notary of the fleet, certify that I read the entire instructions of the other part of this present to all those commanding the ships of the said fleet, to each one separately. They all answered that they were ready to observe and obey the contents of the said instructions. Witnesses are Tome de la Ysla and Sergeant Catalinaga, who were present the entire time.

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary of the fleet

In the river of Mindanao, at the mouth of the said river, on the fifteenth of the month of March, one

thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the illustrious captain Grabiél de Ribera, after having waited at the mouth of the said river, during the time which he had set with the two messengers whom he sent to Limansancay, king of the said river of Mindanao; and seeing that the above-mentioned persons did not bring any reply to the message that his Grace had sent to the said king (as is set forth in more detail in a certain writing in regard to this matter executed before me the present notary, and to which I refer): notifying and arranging all his fleet, he entered the said river. After having ascended it for about a league or so, and reached the first port in the said river which is settled, a chief called Dato Bandel, accompanied by many Indians, came, bearing a white flag in his hand. He told the said captain that he wished to make peace and alliance with his Majesty, and with him in his royal name. That was his intention, but he was hostile to Limancansay, king of Mindanao, who was settled up the river. Therefore his Grace took with him the said chief, and after arriving at the said village—where, he declared, the said Limasancay lived—he found there certain Indians. He had them summoned, and when they reached the flagship he embraced and regaled them, and made them sit down near him. One of them was a chief, who said through Miguel Godines, interpreter of their language, that his name was Sicuyrey, and that he was a cousin to the said king Limasancay. His Grace set this man next himself, and gave him ornaments and presents from among his store, as well as to the others. His Grace told and informed them that he was come in the name of King Don Ffelipe, our sovereign, and by order of the

very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, of his Majesty's council, and his governor and captain-general throughout these islands, to make terms with Limasancay, king of this river of Mindanao, for peace and alliance, and that they might become vassals of his Majesty. He informed them of the great good that would accrue to them all and to the said Limasancay in particular, if he made the said peace and alliance with his Majesty, and with the said governor in his royal name, at whose order his Grace was come—principally that they might recognize Jesus Christ, the Creator of the whole world, our only salvation. This is his Majesty's principal purpose, and he will entertain and protect them in all things, as is his custom among all the other natives of these islands who are under his royal crown. In order to impart this, and many other things, of advantage to the said Limasancay and to all the natives of this river, it was necessary that Limasancay come to his Grace. If he feared anything, the captain was ready to give him whatever security he wished; for he had not come to molest, but to favor him, according to the orders of the said governor. Sicuyrey, having been informed of all the above matters by the interpreter, answered that the said king, Limasancay, was not at present in that town, but in another, two leagues distant. He said he would go to him and confer with him in regard to everything that the said captain had told him; and that he would bring him back with him, in order that the captain might discuss all those matters. Then they left, and the said captain said that he would await the answer given to the said Sicurey by the said Limasancay; and Sicurey went away, to-

gether with the others who had come with him. Four hours later, he returned to the said captain, with the news that he had talked to his cousin Limasancay, and had told him all his Grace's words. He sent as answer that upon the following day he would come to talk with him, and that he should await him. Upon receiving this reply the said captain said he would wait until the following day. He ordered that no soldier should go ashore or do any damage in the said port to any one, until the plan and purpose of the said king Limasancay was evident, and what he would do in regard to the said alliance and peace that his Grace wished to make with him in accordance with his Majesty's orders. In order that all the above, and the said captain's great zeal and resolution in everything concerning these natives might be properly recorded, he requested me, the present notary, to set it down in writing, so that everything might stand in the records. I certify thereto, for it occurred before me, in the presence of the witnesses, Ensign Melchor de Torres and Pablo de Asequera.

GRAVIEL DE RIBERA

It took place before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary of the fleet

After the above events, on this said day, month, and year above stated, after all the above had happened in regard to the said chief, the said captain, considering that the said Dato Bahande had come of his own accord to make peace, inasmuch as he came with the said flag, his Grace declared, in the name of his Majesty, and that of the governor in his royal name, that he received him as his vassal, with all

his subjects – declaring that hereafter they will molest no Spaniard, will not make war on the Spaniards, and will render assistance in whatever the governor, or whosoever is authorized by him, shall order. He said that he was ready to obey. I certify thereto, in the presence of witnesses Sergeant Catalinaya and Ensign Artiaga.

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary of the fleet

While anchored in the river of Mindanao at the port reported to belong to Limansancay, king of the said river, on the fifteenth of the said month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, or a trifle later, certain Indians of the small boats carried by the ships of the said fleet went ashore at the said port, to look for wood with which to cook their food. It appears that an Indian (from the fragata commanded by Juan Rodriguez de Norvega) who was a native of the town of Cayut, of Tome de la Ysla's encomienda, received five wounds from other natives of the said river of Mindanao who were at the said town – one in the abdomen, which caused his intestines to protrude, and the rest in his arms and thighs. The natives of the said river and village inflicted these wounds on the said Indian treacherously, giving him some buyo, and while he was reaching for it, wounding him. He died as a result and was buried in the said village. Although this injury was inflicted on us, the captain, because he was awaiting the said Limasancay, for the said peace, ordered all the soldiers and the other Indians of the fleet not to harm the natives of the said village, until it was seen

what the said Limasancay would do regarding the agreement which he had made with the said captain. In order that this, as well as the death of the said Indian and the wounds he had received, might be evident, the said captain requested me to give him the present writing as certification and attestation in the manner above stated. Witnesses, Ensign Melchor de Torres, Pedro de Esequera, and Diego de Artiaga Gamboa.

GRAVIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary of the fleet

In the river and village called Mindanao, on the sixteenth of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the fleet being anchored at the entrance of the said village, wherein it is said Limasancay, petty king of the said river, usually lives and resides, at about three o'clock or so in the afternoon, in the presence of me, the notary, and the witnesses hereunto subscribed – the illustrious captain, Grabiell de Ribera, being in his flagship – it appears that Sicurey summoned him from the other side of the river. The said captain had sent him, one or two days previously, to summon the said Limasancay. To ascertain the reply of the above king and what the said Sicurey asked from him, his Grace, accompanied by me, the present notary and the witnesses, went to an uninhabited house in the said village and ascended to its top, in order to be able to see and talk with the said Sicurey – who as above stated was on the other side of the river with certain Indians who came with him. Through the interpreter whom his Grace carried, he ordered the said Sicurey to be

interrogated concerning the reply that he brought to what the said captain had sent him to tell his cousin Limasancay; and the said captain told Sicurey that he should come from the other side of the river in order that he might talk with him, and ascertain what message the said Limasancay sent, what was the latter's intention and purpose, and whether he desired to make the said peace that he had requested in his Majesty's name. To all of this the said Sicurey answered, without coming to his Grace, that he had talked to his cousin, the said Limasancay, who was three days' journey up the river from where the said captain was stationed; that the said village is called Busayen, and that he had told the king everything that he had been ordered to tell. But the king had answered that he was afraid that he would be seized, and for that reason he would not come to see his Grace; but he told Sicurey that he should return thanks to the said captain for the presents which his Grace had given to him and to the others. He would return to talk again with the said Limasancay, and would again ask him to come. The said captain told him that, since he was willing to do him that pleasure, and return again, he should tell the said Limasancay that his Grace did not come to seize or annoy him; for, had he wished to annoy him, he would not have asked as he had that the king come to make peace. The intent of his Majesty, and that of the very illustrious governor, by whose commission and mandate he comes, is only to inform the people in that so great river where they are and live, that they should become vassals of his Majesty, and of the said governor in his royal name, as the natives of other islands have done. If he and the other

chiefs give obedience to his Majesty, to whom all render obedience, and are willing to be his vassals and desire to be protected under his royal crown and favor, his Grace would regale them and would not molest or annoy them. They could remain in their own lands and settlement. If they would, of their own volition and without being forced, give some tribute, his Grace would receive it in his Majesty's name, and only in token of obedience and so that it might be understood that they wished peace and were obedient under his royal crown; that they themselves should decide whatever they wished to give for this purpose. If the said Limasancay feared, as he said, that his Grace would seize him, he was prepared to give him any and all security that he might desire, so that he might come to treat with the said captain and that he might understand that the latter has no intention of illtreating him; for if his intention were to molest the king, his Grace had had occasion therefor already, and could have seized the said Sicurey and other chiefs who came to discuss peace with his Grace, as well as a chief called Dato Bahandie. This last has come peacefully and has rendered obedience to his Majesty; and in return therefor the said captain has regaled him and will protect him on every occasion. If the said Limasancay purposes to attempt treachery and deceit toward the said captain, and in short not to come peacefully, he shall send word immediately as to his intention; for, if he do not come peacefully, then his Grace will employ all the correctives and artifices possible, until he leaves this land pacified and its inhabitants as vassals of his Majesty. His Grace has been informed, by natives and chiefs of the said river,

that the said Limasancay is preventing and hindering many chiefs from surrendering themselves as vassals of his Majesty, by saying that, if they did, he would persecute and destroy them. Since he prevents this, and refuses to make friendship, as has been required of him, and prevents others from doing so, his Grace, as above stated, will proceed against the said Limasancay by all possible ways and methods, as against a man who prevents the chiefs of the said river from making peace and rendering obedience to his Majesty as they wish: his Grace will also proceed against all his paniaguados, and against all those who refuse peace and obedience to his Majesty. The said Sicurey having heard all the above declaration, and other words to the same effect, replied that he would repeat it all to the said Limasancay, and would return within three days. Because the said village of Mindanao did not contain food for the soldiers, the captain told the said Sicurey that he would await him and his reply in Tampaca, six leagues up the river above the said village of Mindanao. In order that this might appear in the records, I attest and certify the same, which took place before me. Witnesses, Pedro de Esegura and Ensign Arteaga.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary of the fleet

At the river and village of Mindanao, on the seventeenth day of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, after the illustrious captain, Grabiél Ribera, had waited three days at his anchorage for Limasancay to come, to make

peace as he had requested of him; and seeing that he did not come and that food was becoming scarce, and, the said village being depopulated, he could find no food there; and because his Grace had been told by natives of the said river that the said Limasancay was retiring up river to one of his villages, to make a fort there for his defense; and seeing that the king was dealing treacherously, in order to gain time to build the said fort: in order to avoid the possible great danger in allowing the said Limasancay to fortify himself, and likewise because he had heard that the village of Tapaca, about four leagues up the river, contained food, from which the fleet (some vessels of which were in want) might be reprovisioned; to look for and collect certain pieces of artillery which were said to be in the said village, and which were reported to have belonged to the lost Portuguese galley – his Grace on this said day, ascended the river to the said village, for the causes and reasons above stated. I attest the same. Witnesses, Pedro de Eseguera, Ensign Melchor de Torres, and Ensign Arteaga.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary of the fleet

In the village of Tapaca, on the nineteenth day of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, in fulfilment of the order given by the illustrious captain Grabiél de Ribera, after having voyaged for three days up stream to the village of Tapaca, whither his Grace shaped his course, it appears that, at the entrance of the port, the said captain despatched a small barangay with certain

Indians and three soldiers. He ordered these to go ahead to notify the chiefs of the said town that his Grace was coming, by order of his Majesty, to pacify the said town and its vicinity; and that the said natives should come peaceably. It appears that, at the entrance of the said village, before talking to any of the natives, according to his Grace's orders, certain culverins and many arrows were discharged at the said barangay. As soon as the said captain learned of this, he ordered immediately all the soldiers and men in the ships of his fleet, to set in order for instant action the cannons, muskets, and other firearms, so that if necessity demanded, they might be fired. When everything was in order, he entered the said village. At the said entrance many culverins and arrows were fired at the said fleet. Consequently his Grace ordered all the soldiers to keep together and not to separate at all. Thus the said captain went up the river to the said village, where he disembarked. Accompanied by me, the present notary, certain soldiers, a chief whom he took as interpreter, named Quilantan, and other chiefs and interpreters, the said captain advanced, carrying a white peace-flag; and he ordered the said chiefs to call out and summon the Indians who were on the other side of the river. Thereupon these latter summoned them, and some of those on the other side came, upon which the said captain ordered his interpreters to ask the said natives why they had fled and deserted the town, and why they had discharged those arrows and culverins, inasmuch as his Grace had given them no cause therefor. He informed them all that he did not come to harm or offend them; he came to this river solely at the command of the very illustrious

Doctor Francisco de Sande, of his Majesty's Council, and his governor for all these islands – who had sent his Grace to inform them of the great error and delusion under which they live and labor, and to make them vassals of his Majesty, and of the said governor in his royal name. Being vassals, great gain and advantage would accrue to them, and they would dwell in quiet and peace in their lands and settlements, as at present. They would not be ousted or dispossessed of them, and no person should annoy or molest them. On the contrary, they would be protected, defended, and aided by his Majesty and the very illustrious governor in his royal name. By his Grace also, protection would be given, in whatever required it at present, as he had promised to Dato Bahandie, a native of this village, who, because he came peacefully and rendered obedience to his Majesty, had been received under his royal protection. He and others of his opinion would be protected in all necessities, and on all occasions, as vassals of his Majesty. They should understand that the captain has not come to plunder them or to seize their possessions, but only for the purpose above stated. If they had any food, his Grace had need of it, and would pay them in full for it. They should return to their houses and land and should not abandon their village. He did not wish them to pay him tribute or other things. While summoning them and notifying them of these and other things which his Grace tried to make them understand, they sent a volley of arrows toward his Grace, and by good luck missed killing one of the said interpreters and chiefs there. And as soon as the said Indians on the other side heard the said summons, they declared

that the Castilians were rogues and had come to deceive them. Thereupon the said captain returned to the rest of his men. To all of the above, I, the present notary, certify. Witnesses, Francisco Gomez, Sergeant Lope de Catalinaga, and Juan Rodriguez de Norvega.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary of the fleet

In the village of Tapaca on the twentieth day of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, Captain Grabiél de Rivera, seeing that he had had no intercourse with the natives nor was able to secure it since his arrival in the said village, ordered that three ambuscades be made inland. Thereupon a certain number of soldiers and some friendly Indian rowers whom he had, penetrated inland about one and one-half leagues. It appears that in four hours the said soldiers returned with the report that it was utterly impossible to advance farther, because of the numerous swamps and marshes, where the water reached their knees and higher. Consequently, and because the captain saw how the food was failing, and because he had been informed by certain friendly Indians who had come in peace and by Dato Bahandíe, that the petty king Limasancay must be in the village above Tampaca, he authorized Pedro Brizeño de Esegüera, a citizen of the town of Santísimo Nombre de Jesús, a discreet and capable man and one experienced in that land, to ascend the river in two vireys and one small barangay, with twenty-six soldiers; for these vessels were light and the current of the river strong, and his

Grace could not ascend the said river with the other ships of the fleet. Indeed, coming from the village of Mindanao to this village of Tapaca, it had taken four days to make four leagues (the distance between the two towns), and he had arrived after great effort, and being towed by the Indians. He gave, for this reason, the said commission to the said Pedro de Oseguera, and ordered him to obey and observe in every particular, and not to exceed the tenor and order of what was commanded him in the said commission given him by the captain. Thus he ordered and affixed thereto his signature. Witnesses, Sergeant Catalinaga, Juan Rodriguez de Norvega, and Francisco Velazquez.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary of the fleet

I, Grabiél de Ribera, captain of infantry for his Majesty in the Filipinas islands of the West, who by order of the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor and captain-general of these islands, come to pacify and explore the river of Mindanao, by virtue of the commission and instructions given me by his Lordship to make the said expedition: inasmuch as I have reached the village of Tapaca in prosecution of my voyage, and after remaining here certain days, summoning and notifying the natives – in the presence of a notary, who attested the same – to come to make peace; and having informed them that I came in his Majesty's name to pacify the said river, and to make the natives and residents of that region vassals of his Majesty – which was proclaimed through interpreters who understand their language;

and inasmuch as the natives of the said village, although all the above information was proclaimed, have fled and abandoned their houses and lands, and the fleet is suffering from lack of provisions, for the food is all gone; and because it would be extremely difficult for it to ascend the river farther, and would require much time, because of the great strength of the current all along the river, it having taken three days to tow the galleys and fragatas by means of small oared vireys from the village of Mindanao to this of Tapaca (a distance of four leagues), because of the said current: therefore in the name of his Majesty, and for the proper provision and despatch of the said fleet and men, and so that the instructions of his Lordship may be observed and obeyed, he said that he delegated, and he did delegate, all his power, as far as he possesses it for the said purpose, to Pedro Brizeño de Oseguera, a citizen of the town of Santísimo Nombre de Jesus – a deserving and capable man, and experienced in that land – so that with two vireys and one barangay, all oared boats, and accompanied by twenty-six soldiers, he may ascend the said river.

When he has reached certain settlements on the river, and in especial that of the village of Ybatel (where it is said the petty king Limasancay is), he shall notify him and the chiefs of the said village, and those of the village of Buayen, through the interpreters that he shall take with him, that the said Pedro Brizeño de Oseguera goes by my orders to the said villages, to inform them that I have come by order of the said governor to execute and fulfil the above purpose; and that I am awaiting, in this village of Tapaca, the said Limasancay and the other chiefs

to come to make peace and to acknowledge themselves vassals of his Majesty, as Dato Bahandie, chief of this river, has done. Likewise he shall inform them that his Majesty's purpose in sending me to this said river is to pacify it and make it peaceful, and to make them understand the great delusion in which all the natives thereof live; that they shall become vassals of King Don Ffelipe, our sovereign (whom may God preserve), as are all the natives of the island of Panay, the Pintados islands, and those of the island of Luçon; and that they may be instructed in the matters which pertain to our holy Catholic faith. If they become vassals of his Majesty they will be protected and guarded, whenever they have need and whenever occasion requires. They shall return to their houses and towns as formerly, for I have given them no occasion to abandon these. I do not come to plunder their possessions or to harm them, or to require them to give tribute, beyond what they give now of their own volition, in token of recognition and obedience, so that it may be understood that they desire peace and alliance. Furthermore he shall try to ascertain and discover with all solicitude and care the whereabouts of Limasancay, for I have heard that he is in the village of Buyayen with his father-in-law, the chief of the said town, by name Seproa. He shall try to confer and treat with Limasancay; and, that failing, he shall send another person to tell him to come to this village of Tapacan, where I am at present, and that he shall have no fear, or be alarmed at anything; and that, if he comes, we shall treat for the peace and friendship that I come to make with him and the other chiefs of the said river in his Majesty's name. I am thoroughly aware that

the reason for the hostility of the natives of this entire river and their abandonment of their houses and native places is his instigation and command. If he does not intend to come to treat with me, he shall not hinder or prevent the said chiefs who, as I have been informed, desire to do so, from coming to make peace. For this reason he shall not do it. Likewise he [Oseguera] shall inform the said Limasancay and the said chiefs that, if they become his Majesty's vassals and render him obedience, they shall be protected and aided, and live quietly and peaceably in their lands and native places. No one shall molest or annoy them in any way. If they do not do this, then there will result many wanderings and anxieties, and many other troubles and losses will come upon them. For all the above and for whatever happens in the said summons, he shall appoint a notary before whom declarations shall be made. I give him power and authority, in all the fulness delegated to me by his Lordship for the said purpose. He shall exercise great diligence and care therein. He shall not allow the soldiers who take with them Indian rowers to molest or trouble the natives of the said village, or their houses and possessions. He shall take as many days as he deems necessary for this purpose, but no more. Given at the said village of Tapacan, on the twentieth day of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

By order of the captain:

DIEGO LOPEZ, notary of the fleet

In the village of Tapacan, on the river of Mindanao, on the twenty-third day of the month of

March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, before the illustrious Grabiél de Ribera, captain of infantry for his Majesty in these islands, and before me, Diego Lopez Carreño, notary of the fleet, appeared Pedro Brizeño de Oseguera. He said that, in fulfilment of the commission and instructions given him by the said captain, to ascend the river with the two vireys and one barangay, accompanied by others, as declared in the said instructions, he went, in prosecution of his voyage, and arrived at the village of Buayen, about four leagues from this village of Tapacan, passing some small uninhabited villages on the way. When he reached the said village of Buayen carrying a white flag in token of peace, many shouts were raised by his Indians, who called in their own language Siproa, chief of the said town and father-in-law of Limasancay. Although they shouted, as said, and tried to find some natives in order to confer with them, they could see nothing of them. On this account they could not inform the natives of the said village of their object. Therefore he went on to the village of Ybalet, about three leagues from the said town of Buayen. Carrying his said white flag, he looked for Indians in the said village, and found certain Indians. He ordered the interpreters with him to summon these Indians to him, declaring that he would not harm them, for he came only to request their peace and alliance, and that they become vassals of King Don Ffelipe, our sovereign, as is Dato Bahandie, chief and native of this river. When they were asked where the said Limasancay and other chiefs were, they answered that they had left them behind in the village of Buayen and that they had no chief in their village,

for he too was hidden with the said Limasancay. The said Pedro Brizeño de Oseguera also sought provisions in both the villages of Buayen and Ybalet, for the support of the said fleet, but found nothing in either one, for the natives were all hostile, and all their houses had been abandoned. When the said Indians were asked the above questions, and he saw how scanty was the information derived from them, he [Oseguera] tried to lay certain ambushes, in order to capture some Indian to have speech with him concerning the said river. Therefore the two ambushes were laid, but an Indian could be taken in neither one; for none appeared to be captured, as all had fled, and were so afraid of the soldiers that upon seeing Spaniards in their land they took to the mountains. Thus retired the Indians who talked with the said Pedro de Oseguera, refusing to come to him. Since he saw that these two villages – the most important, so far as he knew, on all this river – contained no peaceful Indian with whom to treat and from whom he could ascertain what was happening; and that he could find no food, he decided to return to the said captain to advise him of what he said had occurred. This relation is true, and witnesses present were Ensign Melchor de Torres, Francisco Rodriguez de Salamanca, and San Juan de Çavala. He affixed his signature, jointly with Captain Grabiell de Ribera.

PEDRO BRIZENO DE OSEGUERA

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary of the fleet

In the village of Tapaca, located on the river above the village of Mindanao, on the twenty-fifth day of

the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the illustrious Captain Grabiél de Ribera, after remaining seven days at the said village of Tapaca, anchored there with his fleet and soldiers; and, having seen that the natives of the said village and all its vicinity refused to come to make peace – as is stated above more in detail and as appears by the records made in regard to this matter, to which I refer – in order to fulfil and observe the orders contained in the instructions given him by the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, in consideration of the fact that the location and settlement of the said village of Tapaca is very unhealthful, and that some of his soldiers and many Indian rowers had fallen ill, in order to avoid the danger that might again occur for the above reason, ordered all the commanders of ships to make ready to come to this village of Mindanao, where his Grace had formerly been with the said fleet, without committing any depredations in the said village; for the said village of Mindanao is a healthful village and settlement, and its climate is excellent. Accordingly, he left the said village of Tapaca on this said day to return to this of Mindanao, where he arrived on the same day at five o'clock in the afternoon. I attest the same. Witnesses, Pedro de Oseguera, Tome de la Ysla, and Francisco Velazquez.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

By order of his Lordship:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary of the fleet

In the village of Tapaca, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the illustrious Captain Grabiél de

Ribera, upon finding that he had been unable to seize any Indians in the ambuscades which his Grace had ordered to be made in the said village, in order to talk with them regarding affairs of the said river, left, when about to depart, two ambuscades of soldiers in the said village of Tapaca. Two Indians were taken in this way by the soldiers, who were led before the said captain, then anchored with the rest of his men and boats in the village of Lusa, one-half a league from Tanpaca. They were brought before me, the present notary, and the interpreter Laquian – an Indian, who understands the language of the natives of this river; and the following questions were asked them.

One of them on being asked his name and whose slave he was, responded that his name was Sidurman and that he was the slave of Batala, a chief of the said village of Tapaca, and brother-in-law to Limasancay, petty king of the said river.

Being interrogated by the said interpreter why he and his companion came to the said village of Tanpaca, where the said captain was, since the natives of the said village had hidden themselves and abandoned the said village, he declared that the said Batala sent them both to the said village in order to find out what the Castilians were doing there. This was their reason for coming.

Being asked to tell where the said Batala was when he sent him and his companion on the above-mentioned errand, he said that he was in a village called Bulon, situated on the said river. The said captain asked him what he [Sidurman] was doing in the said village, and why Batala and all the other chiefs had abandoned their own village. He said and answered

that they had fled from fear and terror of the Castilians, for Limasancay had sent word by a slave to his said master to do this, and that he was doing the same to the village of Buyen. Therefore the said Batala and the other chiefs went to the said village, as above stated.

He was asked if there was a road by which his Grace might go to the said village, where the said Batala was, in order to treat with him for peace. If there is, his Grace said, he would loose them and give them their liberty. This witness said that the creek by which he came is navigable only with barotos, and he and his companion came in one. It is quite impassable in one part and swampy in the other, with water up to the breast, and higher. When the said Batala and all his wives and the rest of the people went thither, they used very small barotos, and then with difficulty. Therefore the Spaniards do not dare go thither by way of the said swamps.

This witness being asked where his master Batala keeps his artillery, said that he knew that he had two falcons that were brought from the town of Zamboanga, when Batala was with Limasancay. These were taken from the lost Portuguese galley. When he went away, he took these pieces with him in a baroto, and has them, as well as other small culverins, in his possession.

Being asked where the said Limasancay and the other people are, since Limasancay sent word to his said master, Batala, to flee and abandon his village, he said that he knows only what he has heard—namely, that he is in the village of Buayen with his father-in-law, Siproa, and that they are hidden in a marsh. Sidurman was also asked, as he is a native

of this river, if he knows where Limasancay keeps his artillery, and that which he brought from Samboanga. He said that he does not know. This he deposed through the said interpreter before the said captain and in the presence of me, the said notary.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary of the fleet

On this said day, month, and year aforesaid, the said captain summoned to his presence the Indian Laman, the companion of the said Sidurman. The same questions and articles put to the said Sidurman were asked of Laman through the interpreter. His answers were similar to those declared by the same Sidurman in his deposition. I, the present notary, attest the same.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary of the fleet

In the river of Mindanao, on the twenty-seventh day of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, while the fleet was anchored at the village of Limasancay, petty king of the said river, the captain, considering that in the villages of Tapaca, Buayen, and Balete (the most important villages of the said river), and in many other villages of the river, he had endeavored to induce Limasancay and the other chiefs to come to make peace (as is contained in the reports, to which I refer), said that, in order that the natives of the said river might understand that his Grace would not return, or leave the said river until he left it pacified and tranquil,

under the protection of King Don Ffelipe, our sovereign (whom may God preserve), be ordered for this purpose a fort to be commenced in the said village of Mindanao, on a point made by two arms of the river, near where the fleet is anchored.³⁵ He ordered palm-trees and other wood needed for it to be cut. Therefore, on this said day, and in presence of me, the said notary, certain palm-trees were cut, and the said fort begun. I certify thereto. Witnesses, Sergeant Catalinaga, Tome de la Ysla, and Pedro Brizeño de Eseguera.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ, notary of the fleet

In the village of Mindanao, on this said day, month, and year aforesaid, the said captain ordered Aquilantan, a chief of Tanae, who accompanied his Grace, to go to the town of Silanga, situated on the said river, to summon its chief, Dato Bahandil, the one with whom his Grace had made peace when he ascended the river. He was to tell him to come immediately to his Grace, who wished to discuss certain matters with him. The said Quilantan summoned the said Bahandil, and he came on the same day. When he and the other chiefs who accompanied him from the same village were brought before the captain, they were informed through Laquian, the interpreter, that his Grace had ascended the river to the town of Balete, displaying a white flag all along the said river, as a peace token. He had summoned the natives of the river to make peace, as he did not

³⁵ Probably referring to the island now known as Boeton or Buntung, lying S. E. of Celebes.

come to plunder or harm them. Although he did his utmost to make peace with them, he could not effect it. His Grace has understood that Limasancay is responsible for this condition of affairs. Through his cunning and by his order, all the people have been hostile to the Spaniards, and have abandoned their villages. He requested Dato Bahandil, since he is the vassal and ally of his Majesty, to go or send to the village of Buayen, where the said Limasancay is, and tell him that the said captain did not come to rob or harm him, but only to make alliance and peace, and that he should place himself under the dominion of King Don Ffelipe, our sovereign (whom may God preserve). From this much advantage would accrue to him, and he and all the other chiefs would be dispossessed of the error in which they all are, and would recognize their Creator, who is the only true God. Although his Grace had many excuses for putting him to death – inasmuch as they killed one of his Grace's Indians in the said village of Mindanao and had discharged many arrows at the Spaniards all along the river, both by day and night – yet he had no desire to harm them, notwithstanding his opportunities therefor; for he could have burned their villages, cut down their palm-trees, and seized and killed many people, and that whenever he wished. Consequently they should understand that he bore express command from the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor of all these islands, not to harm them in any way, and hitherto he has not done so. Should the said Limasancay refuse to come to make peace, he should not prevent the other chiefs and natives of this river from coming to render obedience to his Majesty. His Grace has heard that,

because Limasancay will not consent to come, no one else dares to come to make peace. The said Dato Bahandil having heard and understood all of the foregoing, answered that, having had war with Limasancay and having made peace but recently, he did not dare to go to talk with him or any other of his village; for, if he had any trouble with him, the latter would immediately order him to be killed. Therefore he declined to go. The said captain asked him, since he would not go, to find some one in his village who would go to tell the said Limasancay all the above, saying that he would pay this man. Likewise Limasancay should be told that his Grace was building a fort in his said village, and that he did not intend to leave until the king should make peace. Dato Bahandil went, saying that he would return with the answer within two days and that he would try to despatch the said Indian to the said Limasancay. The payment for this man was given to the said Dato Bahandil. I certify to all the above. Witnesses, Pedro Brizeño de Esegua, Melchor de Torres, and Pedro de Brito.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary of the fleet

On this said day, month, and year aforesaid, while the said captain, in the said village of Mindanao, was holding a conference there with the said Dato Bahandil and other chiefs of the said village – wherein he discussed all the matters above stated, and declared – before the said captain and in the presence of me, the said notary, and of the greater part of the people of his fleet, a volley of poisoned arrows was

discharged from the other side of the river and fell near the said captain and among the others. By great good fortune none of those with the said captain were wounded. Thereupon the said chiefs, seeing this shameless conduct of the Indians, begged and persuaded the said captain to send men and soldiers to kill the said Indians. Persuaded by them, he ordered some soldiers to fire a few arquebuses in the direction of the firing of the said arrows, in order to stop further volleys. Yet they refused to desist, and sent another volley of arrows. And because of the excitement among the Indians engaged on the fort, the captain ordered six soldiers and a few of his Indians to go to the other side to try to capture an Indian, in order to ascertain who they were and who sent them there. The said soldiers went to execute this order, and the Indians who had fired the said arrows began to defend themselves. Therefore the friendly Indians killed three of them and took one prisoner. He was taken to the captain, who ordered him to be imprisoned. I certify thereto. Witnesses, Sergeant Catalinaga and Tome de la Ysla.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary of the fleet

After the above events, in the said village of Mindanao, on the twenty-eighth of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, Atangata, an Indian slave of Limasancay, was summoned before the illustrious captain Graviel de Ribera, and in the presence of me, Diego Lopez Carreño, notary, that I might take down his confession and deposition. Upon his appearance he was interrogated thus.

He was asked who were the people with him when he was captured, who were shooting at the Spaniards, and at whose commission and command they came to shoot those arrows. He said that they were fourteen Indians who came to discharge those arrows; that some of them were timaguas, and others slaves belonging to Limasancay, at whose order they had come; and that they had left the town of Buayen, where the said Limasancay is, two days ago, coming hither in barotos.

Being asked whether the said arrows that were shot were poisoned, in order thereby to kill the Spaniards who were in the said village, and who gave the poison, he said that they brought it from the said town of Buayen, and that some arrows were poisoned when they came, and others they themselves poisoned when they were ready to use them. The herb used was poisonous, and if any Castilian should be wounded, he would die therefrom.

Being asked, since he is a slave of the said Limasancay, where his said master keeps the artillery that he brought from the village of Samboanga (from that lost in the Portuguese galley), and that which the said Limasancay has of his own, he declared that he knows that he threw a large piece into the river in front and near to his house (one brought from Samboanga), as well as another and smaller piece. The rest of the artillery being small, he took it all with him when he went away. These pieces consist of three very small culverins. As the rest were large, he threw them into the river in front of his house.

Being asked where Limasancay was hiding and why he had fled, he said that Limasancay had gone away, through fear of the Spaniards, to the village

of Buayen, where he is with his father-in-law. Beyond that he does not know where he is hidden. This witness was not with him, for they took the barotos in which they came hither from the village of Ertala, where he lived. This is what he knows of the matter, and nothing else.

GRAVIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ, notary of the fleet

On the twenty-eighth of the said month of March of the year above stated, considering that, by his confession above given, Atagayta, the slave of Limasancay, deposed that the said artillery was in the river in front of the house where Limasancay lived and resided, he ordered all his Indian rowers, and those of the other vessels, that they should look for it in the river at low tide, at that point where the said Indian signified that they were. His Grace ordered them to look for it, saying that he who should find it would be given and paid one-half tae of gold. Accordingly they began to look for the said artillery, and found, in the said river in front of the houses where the said Limasancay generally lives, one large piece, from the artillery found in Samboanga; one small culverin, one small grappling-iron, and three googings of the anchor, two of these broken and one whole. His Grace ordered all these to be brought ashore, giving the Indian who discovered them the one-half tae of gold. I, the present notary, testify thereto. Witnesses, Ensign de Arteaga and Pedro de Oseguera.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ CARRENO, notary of the fleet

On the twenty-ninth of the said month of March, the said captain ordered the said Indians to search the said river for the other pieces; and, as on the preceding day, his Grace said that he who found any piece would be paid and rewarded. Accordingly many of the Indian rowers searched throughout the whole river, but found no other pieces, nor anything beyond what was found the previous day. I testify thereto. Witnesses, Tome de la Ysla and Pedro de Brito.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

DIEGO LOPEZ, notary of the fleet

In the village of Mindanao, on the thirtieth of the month of March, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the illustrious Captain Grabiél de Ribera, captain of infantry for his Majesty and of the fleet and troops who came to pacify this river and the villages of this island and the island of Jolo, by order of the very illustrious governor and captain-general of these islands, declared that, inasmuch as his Grace has arrested Diego Lopez Carreño, notary, hitherto of this fleet for necessary reasons, and as it is necessary to appoint another person to exercise the said office and to act as notary of the said fleet: in consideration of the ability and capacity of Benito de Mēdiola, a soldier of this fleet, and as he has confidence that he will perform his duty thoroughly and faithfully, said that he appointed, and he did appoint him, as notary of the said fleet. He ordered him to accept it with the formality and oath required by law. I, the said Benito de Mendiola, being present, placed my hand on a sign of the cross which the captain

made with his right hand, and swore before God and on the said cross, and promised to exercise the said office of notary faithfully, legally, and diligently, under pain of incurring the penalties incurred by those who do not exercise their duties legally, and to keep secrets. I affix my signature, together with the captain – who, when he saw my oath and formality, said that he gave me complete power in form of law to exercise the said office, and said that he would confirm by his authority and judicial decree the acts that were executed before me, so that they should be valid in court or out of it. Witnesses, Sergeant Lope de Catalinaga, Juan de Avila, and Don Sebastian de Baeça, soldiers.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the said village of Mindanao, on the thirtieth day of the month of March of the said year, Dato Bahandil, chief of the said village of Silanga, appeared before the said captain, and said that, in obedience to his Grace's orders in regard to the messenger that should be sent to the said Limasancay, he sent yesterday, the twenty-ninth day of this present month, an Indian timagua from his village accompanied by four Indians, in a baroto. He gave these men the payment that his Grace had given him for this purpose. He told and charged them all that his Grace had ordered to be told to the said Limasancay and other chiefs. He expects a reply within three days.

Being asked by the said Laquidan, interpreter, how it is that, being hostile to the said Limasancay, as he says, he does not know where he is and where he is living, Dato Bahandil answered that the said

Limasancay is fleeing with one virey and ten vancas. From fear of the Spaniards he never remains in one town permanently but is in one swamp today and another tomorrow. This he declared before the witnesses, Sergeant Catalinaga and Juan Davila.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the said village of Mindanao, on the thirty-first day of the said month of March, Sihauil, a friendly Indian of Dato Bahandil's town, appeared before the said captain and in the presence of me, the present notary. Through the said interpreter, Laquian, he told the said captain that, if he would pay him, he would tell him where was the other large piece of artillery brought by Limasancay from the said village of Samboanga. He asked them not to tell Limasancay who had told them, lest he order him to be killed. The captain bargained with the said Indian in my presence to pay him three taes of ingot [*linguague*] gold, which was proved with the touchstone, according to the said law; and they were weighed out and given to him immediately. Then many of the Indians and soldiers went to look for the said piece, and dragged a small marsh, which is covered by the river at high tide, quite near the fort built by order of the said captain. They found a bronze piece of artillery bearing the arms of the king of Portugal, apparently some seven or eight quintals in weight. The said captain ordered it placed on one of the fragatas – that commanded by Lope de Catalinaga. And although many people looked for other pieces throughout that entire swamp,

no more were found. I certify thereto. Witnesses, Pedro Brizeño de Eseguera, Diego Nuñez, and Ensign Melchor de Torres.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the said village of Mindanao, on this said day, the thirty-first of March of the said year, the said captain, considering that, by reason of the long voyage and bad weather, and the great lack of all kinds of food in the fleet, because of his long stay; and seeing how much was needed if he accomplish the purpose for which the governor despatched him on this expedition, and the said hunger and want; and that he could not by any method secure provisions in all this river: therefore he ordered that certain of those captured Indians, natives of this country, be set to making *landan*,³⁶ a food eaten in that river. For this

³⁶ Reference is here made to the starchy food procured from the sago-palm, called by the natives *burí* (*Corypha umbraculifera*). This tree gives name to the island of Burias, where it grows abundantly. By tapping the tree, as is done with the American maple, the sweet sap (called by the natives *tuba* or "water-honey") is obtained, from which are made a syrup and a dark sugar; also the natives manufacture from it wine and brandy. The young shoots or buds are edible, as is the entire inner part or pith of the tree. This pith is placed in troughs, wherein it is soaked in water, which washes out certain bitter substances; it is then pounded, which causes the starchy grains to separate from the tissues of the pith. These grains are collected and dried, and made into a flour called sago (or sagú), which furnishes a nutritious and healthful food; in the islands where this tree abounds, the sago takes the place of rice. The leaves of the sago-palm are used as a covering for houses, sails for vessels, and many other purposes. See Delgado's *Hist. de Filipinas* (Manila, 1892 — but written in 1753-54), pp. 660-662, for a long and detailed description of this tree and its uses; also Blanco's *Flora de Filipinas*, p. 160, and *U. S. Philippine Gazetteer*, p. 74.

purpose he ordered a great quantity of palm-trees, of the sort that produces the said landan, to be cut; and they began to work it and to make the said landan, and it is being made for the above-named purpose. He ordered me, the present notary, also to set down the above in the proceedings; and he affixed his signature. I, the present notary, attest the same. Witnesses, Lope de Catalinaga, Pedro de Eseguera, and many other soldiers. Likewise I certify that it takes four days to make the said landan.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the said village of Mindanao, on the thirty-first day of the month of March of the said year, Sibandao, a chief of this village, said to be a cousin of the petty king Limasancay, with Sinago, Siligan, a chief of this said village, and many other timagua Indians, appeared before the said captain and in the presence of me, the present notary, and of witnesses. They told the said captain through the interpreter Laquian, that they wished to become allies of the Castilians. They were received by the captain with great display of affection. He regaled them, embraced them, and showed them in every way kind treatment. Through the said interpreter he told them of the advantage that would accrue to them from becoming allies and vassals of King Don Felipe, our sovereign, and how they would be protected and favored. He told and informed them that they were deceived by their idols and that they should believe in one all-powerful God, who created heaven and earth – three persons but one sole and true God –

in whom we all believe; and they were very attentive to this. He told them that, as allies, the governor of these islands would send them priests to instruct them in the Catholic faith. He told them also, through the said interpreter, that he was sorry that the said Limasancay had fled and was absent; for his Grace came, not to rob or injure them, but to secure their alliance and peace and to teach them the said Catholic faith. Such were the orders of the said governor. He requested them urgently to go to tell this to the king. They replied that they did not dare, for the said Limasancay was evilly inclined; but if his father were alive they would go. They were unable to pay any tribute in gold or wax now, as their Indians had fled; but they would give some food from their stores, equivalent to forty tributes. Then the above-named chiefs departed, promising to bring this food within three days.

Witnesses, Pedro Brizeño de Eseguera, Tome de la Ysla, and Ensign Melchor de Torres.

GABRIEL DE RIVERA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the said village of Mindanao, on the second day of the month of April, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the illustrious Gabriel de Ribera, captain of infantry and of the fleet and people who came to pacify this river and that of Jolo by order of the governor of these islands, said that, whereas the majority of the Spaniards of this fleet have told him that many Spaniards and Indian rowers of this fleet are daily becoming sick, and that he should provide the necessary remedy therefor, in order to avoid the

danger that might ensue, as his Grace knows the nature of the land and its unhealthfulness: therefore he ordered Sergeant Lope de Catalinaga, accompanied by the present notary, to go to see and visit the said sick both Spaniards and Indians. He ordered us to give him full information regarding it and to make attestation regarding the sick, so that it might be evident that his Grace has had and has exercised the requisite care and diligence in everything. This he ordered and affixed his signature thereto.

GABRIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

Thereupon the said sergeant, Lope de Catalinaga, and I, the present notary, went to the fragata of the said captain, where we visited, and saw, in two beds, Francisco Gomez and Bartolome Ruiz, both soldiers, and in another Ensign Diego de Arteaga. They complained of fever, and their appearance bore out this statement. We found also in the flagship, six Indian Moros, rowers, who were sick; and their appearance showed it. As witnesses to all the above were Melchor de Medrano and Juanes de Yraçabal.

LOPE DE CATALINAGA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

Thereupon the said sergeant Lope de Catalinaga and I, the present notary, went to the vessel commanded by Juan Rodriguez de Norvega. There we saw in one bed the said Juan Rodriguez de Norvega, and in another Pedro de Brito. Both of them complained of sickness – the said Juan Rodríguez of a

very bad abscess in the leg, and the said Pedro de Brito of a violent fever; and their appearance confirmed their complaints. We saw also in the said vessel Juan de Leon, a soldier and Anton Martin, a sailor sick with chills and fever, as was evident from their appearance. Further in this same vessel, Diego de Anaya, a soldier, is sick with fever, as is evident. In the same vessel are nine sick Indians, from among the rowers. Witnesses of this were Juan de Avila and Gonçalo Ruiz, a soldier.

LOPE DE CATALINAGA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

Then the said sergeant Lope de Catalinaga and I, the present notary, went to the ship commanded by Francisco Velasquez. There were the said Francisco Velazquez and Miguel Nuñez in one bed. They complained of sickness, and their appearance proved it. Ten Indian rowers were sick in this vessel, as their appearance proved. Witnesses to this were Juan Lopez, Melchor de Medrano.

LOPE DE CATALINAGA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

Then we went immediately to the virey commanded by San Juan de Çavala. We found there sick the said San Juan de Çavala and Gonzalo de Villanueva, as their appearance proved. Eight Indian rowers are sick in this vessel. Witnesses, Bernabe Cortes and Miguel Godines.

Before me:

LOPE DE CATALINAGA

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

Then we went to the virey commanded by Francisco Rodriguez de Salamanca. We found sick there the said Francisco Rodriguez de Salamanca and Miguel Romero, as was very evident from their appearance. There are three Indian rowers sick on this vessel. Witnesses, Bernabe Cortes and Miguel Godines.

LOPE DE CATALINAGA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

Then we went immediately to the viroco commanded by Alonso Pimentel. There the said Pimentel, Juan Ortuño de Oñate, and Diego Carrion appeared to be sick, and such was evident from their appearance. Eleven Indian rowers are sick in this vessel. To this were witnesses, Diego Nuñez and Tomas Dato.

LOPE DE CATALINAGA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

Then we went immediately to the vessel in command of Tome de la Ysla. There were ten Indian rowers sick there, and their appearance proved it. In this vessel Miguel Rodriguez has been sick more than one week. Witnesses, Marcos Quenta [?] and Pedro de Arana.

LOPE DE CATALINAGA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

Then we went immediately to the vessel used to

carry provisions from the flagship. There are four Indian rowers sick in it, besides Pedro Lopez, a Spaniard, and their appearance proved it. Witnesses, Domingo de Santurcio and Francisco Quenta [?].

LOPE DE CATALINAGA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

Then we went immediately to the fragata commanded by the said sergeant, Lope de Catalinaga. In it appeared to be sick eight Indian rowers, and their aspect proved it. Witnesses, Domingo de Santurcio and Francisco Quenta [?].

LOPE DE CATALINAGA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the village of Mindanao, on the second day of the month of April, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the said captain, in the presence of me, the present notary, and of witnesses, asked Dato Bahandil, chief of the village of Silangan, how many people there are in all this river, and in the lake and coast of this island; and the names of the villages, and the number of inhabitants in each one. The above Bahandil, through the said interpreters Laquian and Miguel Godines, made the following declaration.

In his own village, Silangan, there are about two hundred Indians, counting slaves and timaguas; in the village of Sinurey, two hundred; in the village of Caracan, one hundred; in Catituan, one hundred and fifty; Vindanao, seven hundred; Vitala, one hundred

and thirty; Vinuruan, four hundred; Luçon, one hundred and sixty; Tanpacan, one thousand; Atalayan, seventy; Burruan, two hundred; Balabaca, seventy; Caburundan, one hundred; Macapan, eighty; Corocoan, one hundred and forty; Buayen, eight hundred; Tuoca, one hundred; Balete, one thousand; Batunan, one hundred; Baluaquen, one hundred; Ybalen, one hundred and eighty; Tolendin, six hundred; Salunbun, one hundred; Quibaca, two hundred; Cacaren, two hundred and fifty; Matinguaguanen, four hundred; Cabacan, one hundred and eighty; Bagaygaran, one hundred and forty. Total, seven thousand nine hundred and fifty.

The said Dato Bahandil declared that all the above villages were on the said river, swamps, and lake of this province of Mindanao. He said that a river called Ytilurey flowed into this lake,³⁷ which comes from the mountains of Butuan and Caragan, and it has places where gold is washed. When he was asked how much gold each person could wash daily, he said that he had not seen it, but he had heard that they got sometimes one-half a tae, and from that down to six, four, or two maes. This river contains six thousand men, and near by is another branch of the river called Dumanen with about seven hundred Indians. From the said river of Esirey is another branch called Sula with about one thousand Indians living at its confluence with the large river which flows into the

³⁷ The lagoon of Liguasan, the waters of which are discharged into those of the Pulangui River at its "great bend," thus forming the Rio Grande. The Pulangui rises in the northern part of the island, about half-way between the present towns of Cagayan and Butúan. The Tirurey or Ytilurey River of our text apparently indicates a southern tributary of the Rio Grande, flowing from Mt. Tiruray.

lake. There is a settlement called Megatan, under a chief Cacopi, with two thousand men. It is near the junction of the three branches, which form a cross. This lake is about one-half league wide. In summer it dries up and is then full of sedges. In the rainy season it is quite full of water. From this river of Mindanao to the tingues [mountains], whence flows the said river of Tirurey, it is a twenty days' journey up the lake.

He was asked how many people the coast of this said river of Mindanao contained. He said that a day's journey along the shore of this river by which we came is a province called Tabungao. It has about three thousand Indians, who harvest a great quantity of rice. They live inland a distance of four leagues. Farther on and adjacent to this province is another settlement, called the province of Picon. It has one thousand five hundred Indians, who are well supplied with food.

Along the coast two days' journey eastward, is a settlement called Bilan. It is a river with gold mines. He says that along the entire river dwell ten thousand Ytingues [mountaineers] Indians who are not settled, and that they are at peace with a village at the mouth of the river, called Canipaan. With all others they are at war. The people are very rich. All the rest of the coast is settled by Lutaos.³⁸

The chief food of the river of Mindanao is landan, which is made from certain palm-trees very abundant in that land, called buri. After soaking this substance they make from it a sort of flour which is their

³⁸ A tribe inhabiting the western part of Mindanao, but mainly located on other islands — Basilan, Sulu, Paragua, and others; they were Mahometan Malays.

food. For this reason they do not sow much rice although they have rice-fields. The rice harvest is in October and November. They have exceedingly large palm-groves and abundance of cocoanuts both green and dry; also many swine, which are as large as those in Castilla. The bar is covered with three to four brazas of water, or four at full tide. Upon entering there is a good depth of water all the way to the lake, a distance of eighteen leagues. This is the deposition of the said Dato Bahandil, and what he has seen hitherto. The captain signed it; and Francisco Gomez, Lope de Catalinaga, and many other soldiers were witnesses.

GABRIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the said river of Mindanao, on the second day of the month of April of the said year, an Indian said to be a native of the village of Dato Bahandil of this river, appeared before the said captain Gabriel de Ribera, and before me, the present notary, and witnesses. Through the interpreter Laquian, he said that his name was Simangary and that he was one of the messengers despatched in accordance with the captain's orders by the said Dato Bahandil, with the reward given him, in order to confer and treat with Limasancay and his people, as is contained in the above record. In regard to this, he deposed that he went in a baroto with four Indians to the village of Tanpacan, where he found Dato Sibatala, to whom he related the object of his journey. The said Dato Sibatala told him that he did not care to be the ally of the Castilians, even should they burn the natives'

houses and cut down their palm-trees. He told him also not to go farther for the purpose of talking with the said Limasancay; for, if he knew that Simangary was coming from the lord of the Castilians, he would behead him. Upon this he returned to notify the captain. The latter ordered it set down in the records and signed it. Witnesses, Joan Lopez, Francisco Velazquez, and many other soldiers.

GABRIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the said village of Mindanao, on this said day, month, and year, the said Siligan, a chief, appeared before the said captain, and brought as tribute, to apply on what he was to give, five tributes of rice, two bundles of tortoise-shell; three dishes, and two *medriñaque* robes, one green and the other white.

This same day Dato Bahandil brought to apply on the tributes to be given by him, sixty *chicubetillos* of landan, five hogs, and six fowls. The captain took it all, and ordered the food to be apportioned among the fleet. Witnesses, Alonso Pimentel, Francisco Gomez, Francisco Velazquez.

GABRIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the said village of Mindanao, on this said day, the second of April, of the said year, the said captain, after receiving the answer brought by the man who went to talk with Limasancay, ordered Pedro Brizeño de Oseguera, in the presence of many Indians of this river who have made peace, to embark in the

virey commanded by Francisco Rodriguez de Salamanca in order to go to the channel to look for food for the fleet. To exchange therefor, he was given dishes, gold, and *tacley*. He was to inform the said Indians through the interpreters that his Grace was sending the above vessel and the Spaniards who accompanied him to the town of Çubu for men to settle in this village, and for food. He ordered it to be set down in the records. Witnesses, Lope de Catalinaga, Juan Lopez de Queto, and others.

GABRIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the said village of Mindanao, on the second day of the said month of April of the said year, Simagao, an Indian chief of this settlement of Mindanao, who claimed to be a relative of the petty king Limasancay, together with many other timaguas and native Indians, appeared before the said captain and in the presence of me, the notary, and of witnesses. Through the said interpreter, Laquian, he said that he wished to become the ally of the Castilians. The captain regaled him and treated him hospitably. He told them what advantage they would derive in becoming vassals of his Majesty, informing him, as he had hitherto told all the others, that he would be very glad to see the said Limasancay. He told them that if the said Limasancay would come, he would not be required to pay tribute for this year. He asked Simagao what they would give as a token of recognition. They answered that they had no gold, but would give provisions, such as they had, to the value of fourteen tributes. Thereupon the said captain showed them

all hospitality and affection. Witnesses were Alonso Pimentel, Tome de la Ysla, and other soldiers.

GABRIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the said village of Mindanao, on this said second day of April of this year, the said Simagao, chief of this river, appeared before the said captain, and before me, the notary, and witnesses. The captain asked him why – since he was an ally of the Spaniards and was a chief, and saw that so kind treatment was accorded to all who made peace and placed themselves under the protection of his Majesty, as had been done to himself and the others – he did not talk to the other chiefs who had not come to do the same. The said Simagao answered, through the said interpreter Silaquian, that he had talked to another chief named Silitula, who had answered that he did not care for peace, as he had no gold for tribute. He had told him that we desired gold. The said captain told him, through the said interpreter, that he did not come to levy tribute beyond what the chief himself should choose to give as a token of putting himself under the protection of King Don Ffelipe, our sovereign. This he did to all his allies. Thereupon the said chief went away. Witnesses, Ensign Melchor de Torres, Juan Lopez, and Francisco Velazquez.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the village of Mindanao, on the fourth day of

the said month of April, of the said year, Taganchina, a chief, who claimed to be from Catituan, a town of this river, came, and appeared before the said captain and me, the present notary, and witnesses. Through Miguel Godines, the interpreter, he said that he wished to become the ally of the Castilians and to enroll himself under the protection of his Majesty – himself and his Indians, both timaguas and slaves. Many Indians from his village came with him. The said captain received him very kindly and informed him of the great gain that would accrue to him in becoming his Majesty's vassal, telling him among other things of the [Catholic] faith, of which he had told the others. He listened with attention and said that he would assemble his people and give what he could in recognition and tribute. The said captain told him to give what he pleased. He tried to induce him to confer with Limasancay to persuade the latter to make peace, discussing in detail all that he had told the other chiefs. These Indians went away, promising to return tomorrow. Witnesses, Juan Lopez de Queto, Tome de la Ysla, and others.

GABRIEL DE RIBERA

MIGUEL GODINEZ

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the village of Mindanao, on the sixth day of the month of April of the said year, Sibahandil, chief of the village of Silangay; Simangao, of this village of Mindanao; Simaganchina, of Catiman; and Sibandao, chief of this village, appeared before the captain and me, the notary, and witnesses. The said Bahandil gave an account of the tribute he had prom-

ised – two hundred *yrucuvitillos* of landan, each of them about one ganta;³⁹ and ten swine, large and small. The said Sibandao brought two hogs, and twenty tributes in rice, and medriñaque cloth, and two dishes from China, as tribute; for he gave nothing else. The said Sibangao gave four tributes in rice, each tribute of one *chicuvite*. The said Mahanchina gave twelve tributes in dishes as above mentioned. They said, through the said interpreter, that their reason for not coming before and not bringing tribute more fully was because of the great poverty that they were undergoing – since all the natives were in revolt and were suffering severely from famine, as they were all unwilling to come for peace. They asked pardon for their inability to do more. If they were at their own homes, they would pay more. The captain ordered it put down thus in the records. Witnesses, Francisco Velazquez, Ensign Melchor de Torres, Juan Lopez de Queto.

GRABIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the village of Mindanao, on the sixth day of the month of April, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the illustrious Gabriel de Ribera, captain of infantry and of the fleet and men sent to pacify this island and that of Jolo by the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor and captain-general of these islands for his Majesty, made the following declaration. Inasmuch as his Grace has remained twenty-four days in this river and has done

³⁹ The ganta contains 3 litros, a little more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of a peck (U. S.).

all that is declared in the records above, during all of which time he has striven to make peace and alliance with the petty king Limasancay and his chiefs, exercising for this purpose the utmost possible care, committing no injury – although indeed he has had much excuse therefor; and has contrived to have messengers sent to the said Limasancay, in order to confer with him, but the latter refused to talk, nor does anyone care to take a message to him, for they assert that they would be beheaded; and, besides, since Limasancay prevents his chiefs from coming to make peace; and although some chiefs have come to make peace and enroll themselves under his Majesty's protection (as, for instance, the chiefs of Silangay of this village of Mindanao and of Catituan), they do not pay us the tribute promised; and some of those who come bring two or three tributes of articles of little value, or of no importance, which is an ill way of amusing us, and of no advantage; and having seen the great need and lack of food suffered by the entire fleet, because of the long voyage and severe storms that they have experienced; and because of the many sick – each day both Spaniards and Indian rowers falling ill, because of the unhealthful climate of the land, and the lack of all food, except rice – and very little of that, on many days having only one ration a day, to all the people, both Bisayans and Moros; and considering the long voyage ahead of them, and the amount of work that must still be done in order to obey his Lordship's commands; and having no certain assurance of provisions – as this island is so short of them; and although his Grace sent Pedro de Oseguera with gold and articles of barter six days ago to search for food, still he is not sure that he has

found it: therefore he said that he ordered, and he did order, all the vessels of this fleet to prepare to cross the bar, in order to make the voyage. His Grace ordered that a copy of a letter written in the Moro tongue, to the said Limasancay be placed in these records, so that it might be manifest. He signed the above. Witnesses, Francisco Velazquez, Tome de la Ysla, and Lope de Catalinaga.

GABRIEL DE RIBERA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In fulfilment of the above order of the said captain, I, the present notary, caused to be made and did make, a copy of the letter written by order of the said captain to Limasancay, which was first written in a rough draft, so that the essentials of the said letter might therein be set down. It was written in the Moro language by the interpreter Laquian, an Indian Moro, who can write in the said tongue. In order that the said Laquian might write the said letter, it was explained to him by Miguel Godines, Spanish interpreter. Its tenor is as follows:

To Limasancay, the panguilan who is lord over this river and the environs of Mindanao: I came to this river by order of the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor and captain-general of the islands of Luçon, the Pintados, and the other islands, which he governs and rules for King Don Ffelipe, our sovereign, king of Castilla (whom may God preserve during many years). He ordered me to come to treat with you for the alliance that your father Sulatan so earnestly desired with the Castilians; to enroll you under the protection of the said king, our

sovereign; and to warn you of the great error under which you and all the natives of this island are living because you do not know your Creator – who is three persons yet the one and only true God who created all men, the heavens, and the earth – so that, believing on Him, you might merit the enjoyment of the heaven that He created for those who believe and serve Him. At the entrance of this river I met Umapas, a slave of yours, who told me that he was going with a letter and message from you to the said governor, wherein you say that you wish to be his ally. In acknowledgment, you were sending two daggers and two cakes of wax. I ordered him to return to you, in order to tell you that I was coming for the purposes above; and that you should not flee or have any fear, for I was not coming, nor had I commission, to molest you in any way. But the said Umapas answered that he did not dare go upon this embassy for you would behead him. Likewise I sent to you one day prior to this two of your slaves (whom I seized on the sea in a ship), that they might advise you of my coming and that you should have no fear. You refused however to observe this; and not only have you fled and revolted, but you have caused the entire district and its chiefs to revolt. They desire to have peace with the Castilians and to be under the protection of the said king, our sovereign. But you have counseled them evilly; for, like a stripling, you do not know the blessings and advantages which you are losing, and which would be yours if you became the ally of the Castilians and placed yourself under the control of the said governor, both for your own and your land's tranquillity, and for your soul's salvation. Now this is the twenty-fourth day of this

my stay in this river, without having injured you in any way, although I had good warrant therefor, and during which time I ascended the river of Baleté in search of you, and then returned to this your village. Thence I sent messengers to tell you the above, none of whom have returned with a reply from you or have dared to talk with you. Now I am going to the island of Jolo to confer with its chief. I request you urgently to consider well what I have said for it concerns you much. I shall await your reply at Cavite and shall be able to receive it within twelve days. May God give you grace to come to His knowledge.

Your friend, GABRIEL DE RIBERA

By order of the captain:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

This said letter in the above form written in the Moro speech and signed by the said captain before me, the said notary and before witnesses, was given and delivered on this day, the sixth of April of this year, to Sibandao, an Indian chief of this town, so that he might give it to the said Limasancay. Sibandao, through the said interpreter, offered to take it and deliver it to Limasancay. In order that it might appear in the records, this copy was inserted. The said captain and the said interpreter signed it. Witnesses were Francisco Velazquez, Lope de Catalina, and Juan Lopez de Queto.

GABRIEL DE RIBERA
MIGUEL GODINES

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

This is a well and faithfully executed copy of a

commission given to Lope de Catalinaga by the illustrious captain, Gabriel de Ribera, who comes to pacify these islands of Mindanao and Jolo, by order of the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, of his Majesty's council and governor and captain-general of these islands. Its tenor is as follows:

I, Grabiell de Ribera, captain of infantry and of the fleet and people who come to pacify the islands of Jolo and Bindanao, at the order of the very illustrious governor and captain-general for his Majesty of these islands: Inasmuch as the instructions of the said governor ordered me to send some one from the town of Santisimo Nombre de Jesus to pacify the river and tingues [mountains] of Butuan; and considering how much we may shorten the long voyage by going from this district of Cavite instead of from the said town, and that we have here ships and rowers suitable for this undertaking—therefore in the name of his Majesty I entrust the said expedition to Sergeant Lope de Catalinaga. I order him to go as leader for the said pacification with fifteen soldiers besides himself. I order him to go with the said soldiers to the said river and tingues of Butuan to pacify the said people in the tingues. He shall try to render them obedient to his Majesty, making the best possible terms of peace by means of interpreters whom he is taking. From the natives of the said tingues, when they are pacified, he shall have power to collect such tribute as in all fairness can be collected from them. As he has the matter in hand, he shall do what is most convenient in this. Having collected the tribute, he shall keep one-half of it very carefully, as it belongs to his Majesty. The other half, according to his

Lordship's orders, shall be divided among his soldiers, according to custom. Everything that shall be done upon this expedition shall be attested by notary; and I authorize him to appoint one, before whom shall be transacted all the proceedings necessary, so that an account may be rendered of everything. I order all his soldiers to regard, consider, and obey him as their leader, and observe his orders, under such penalties as he may inflict. Given in Cavite on the fourteenth of April, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine.

GABRIEL DE RIBERA

By order of the captain:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

Collated with the original:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the port of Cavite, on the fourteenth of April, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, after his arrival at this port, the illustrious Gabriel de Ribera, captain of infantry and of the fleet and people who came to pacify the islands of Mindanao and Jolo, by order of the very illustrious governor of these islands, saw in this port three vessels manned with Joloans. These vessels contained about fifty persons from the said island of Jolo. The said captain summoned them to his presence, and through the said interpreters, Laquian and Miguel Godines, asked them who they were. They replied that, when the captain was going to the river of Mindanao, he had sent a Boholan Indian to notify them to collect the tribute, as the said captain would come for it on his return. Therefore they, as soon as they heard this, went

thither to confer with the said captain. The said captain asked them why they had left their village, and [had not] collected their tribute, since he had sent to tell them that they should have it ready; whereupon they all answered with one voice that the chief named Rasea had gone to Borney, four months ago, with a galliot and four vireys full of people, to the number of about three hundred. These had gone with the said chief to settle in Borney. Those left were about two hundred men, who were all reduced to despair through the great famine which they are suffering and have suffered since Esteban Rodriguez was in their village, and because of the damage inflicted upon them by the said Esteban Rodriguez. The said Esteban Rodriguez had told them that they would not be assessed tribute for two years. For this reason the people had gone to look for food in other islands. They had collected fifty-seven tributes, which they brought, with the request that his Grace would not go to the said village of Jolo because of the severe famine there; if he did, they must all abandon it. The said captain asked them if they had caught the elephants as the said captain Esteban Rodriguez had ordered and which they had promised to his Lordship. They said they knew nothing of this and that if elephants had been promised, it was by Raja Yloi; but he had gone to Borney and it was impossible for them to catch any alive. The said captain went outside secretly, and informed himself, through the said interpreters, from the Boholan who had been sent, and from the people of this port of Cavite, regarding the famine from which the said Indians asserted they were suffering. These declared that it was very well known and true, and was current talk

on this coast, that the said Raja Ylo had gone to Borneo with the people above mentioned; and that, in the opinion of the people who came from the island of Jolo, there will be much famine in the future. They are a poor people and in need of food. All of them begged among the ships of the fleet, and in the Spanish tongue, that, for the love of God, *humay* be given them for they are hungry. It was seen that they gave their weapons and clothes in exchange for rice. Thereupon the captain ordered the tributes brought by them, as they said, to be placed before him. They brought some robes, daggers, dishes, and articles of slight value and price, and cloth of their land, but no gold or silver. When the said captain saw how slight was the tribute and that it was in almost worthless articles, and as he had heard that there was a large field-piece in the village of Jolo, taken from the lost galley, he said that, since they did not have the tribute collected and were so pressed by dire need, he would have pity and not take the tribute, on condition that they would give the said piece. They said they would all assemble and discuss this, and they asked the said captain to await them there until they returned to Jolo. His Grace told them that this would trouble him considerably because of his great lack of food; but that he would send Pedro de Oseguera in a fragata to bring back the said piece, and to ascertain whether they had told him the truth. Thereupon that very night he ordered the said Pedro de Oseguera to get ready and embark with ten soldiers in the said fragata. He was to go to the said island of Jolo and examine the people and their settlement and ascertain their need of food. He was to take note of everything, charging his men

to act cautiously, and was not to land or molest the natives. The said Pedro de Oseguera left that night to execute this commission, in order to take back the tributes that the said natives had brought, and took them.

Witnesses, Francisco Velazquez, Juan Davila, Melchor de Torres, and many other soldiers.

Before me:

GABRIEL DE RIBERA

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the port of Cavite, on the nineteenth day of the month of April of the said year, Pagalugan and other chiefs and timaguas of the island of Taguima [Basilan] appeared before the said captain in the presence of me, the notary, and of witnesses. They said that they brought to his Grace, in recognition of tribute (for they knew the fleet needed food), twenty fowls, twenty pieces of colored medriñaque, three hogs, and one *chivanta* of wax in four pieces. They said that they had paid their tribute to Juan Lopez de Aguirre in civet-cats, fowls, swine, goats, and cloth. They came also to find out to whom they must pay the tribute hereafter, and how much they must pay. The captain asked how many people they were and how they could pay their tribute. Through the said interpreters they replied that they could pay their tribute in wax, civet-cats, tortoise-shell, and colored cloth. With the tinguianes [mountaineers] they number about one thousand men more or less. Upon this day the captain, seeing the fleet's need of food and the slight prospects for getting any, ordered all the said vessels of this fleet to return to the town of Santisimo Nombre de Jesus.

Witnesses, Melchor de Torres, Francisco Gomes, and others.

Before me:

GABRIEL DE RIBERA

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the port called Dapitan, on the twenty-third day of the month of April of the said year, Pedro de Osegura, whom his Grace had sent to the island of Jolo, as above recorded, and who arrived at this port today with the men and fragata that he had taken, appeared before the said captain, and in the presence of me, the notary, and of witnesses. He said that, in fulfilment of his Grace's orders, he had gone to the said island of Jolo. He anchored at the mouth of the river there, for four days. As soon as he arrived he summoned the chiefs. They came, and through the said interpreter Laquian he learned from them that Raja Ylo, with the Indians of the island – three hundred men, and their women – with his wives, children, slaves, and all his possessions, had gone to settle in Borney. He [Osegura] tried also to learn who had remained, whether they had a famine, as reported. He was told that not more than one hundred and forty Indians remained and that they were suffering a most severe famine. He ordered them to bring the piece that was said to be inland. In three hours they brought one to him, and he brought it hither in his fragata. It seems to be of about twelve or thirteen quintals' weight. Thinking that they were lying in regard to the people and their poverty, he insisted upon asking them for the tribute, telling them that everyone who becomes his Majesty's vassal, pays that recognition, as a return for his Majesty's ex-

penses in his fleets. They showed so great poverty, and were so little able to give anything, that, although he had the chiefs on his vessel and sent them to notify all the Indians of the land that they must bring tribute in three days, not forty Indians came with tribute – and that was in dishes, cloth, and articles of but little worth. The chiefs told him to go ashore and see for himself that there were no more people. Consequently he bargained with an Indian, a timagua of the said island (the one who had owned the said cannon), as he learned that the Indian had traded for it with others; and gave back to them the fifty-seven tributes given them by the captain. Then he returned to the fleet. This was his declaration, and he affixed his signature thereto. Witnesses, Juan Davila and Francisco Gomez.

GABRIEL DE RIBERA

PEDRO BRIZENO DE OSEGUERA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

Thereupon, upon this said day, Pedro de Oseguera declared before the said captain that the said Indians of Jolo had given, in token of tribute, forty-three tributes, consisting of two taes of gold, nineteen pieces of colored medriñaque, and eight tributes in dishes, a total of forty-three – besides the fifty-seven that were taken on account for the piece. The full total is one hundred, and he delivered them to the the captain. Witnesses, the above-named persons.

GABRIEL DE RIBERA

PEDRO BRIZENO DE OSEGUERA

Before me:

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the town of Santisimo Nombre de Jesus, on the eighth day of the month of May, of the said year, the said captain said that, inasmuch as his Lordship, the governor of these islands, ordered in the instructions given him for the said expedition that one-half of the tributes be given to his Grace's soldiers and the other half to his Majesty; and having seen the small amount collected and its little value, and the great lack in this town of food for this fleet: therefore he ordered that all the tributes of cloth and gold be delivered over and divided among the four ships commanded by Francisco Velazquez, Tome de la Ysla, Juan Rodriguez de Norvega, and Alonso Pimentel, respectively. He ordered that it be inspected in order to make a note thereof. There were forty-four pieces of colored medriñaque and forty maes of gold. Therefore each ship received eleven pieces of cloth and ten maes of gold, which was delivered to the above officers, and they gave receipts for it. Witnesses were [Juan Lopez de] Queto, Francisco del Castillo [MS. illegible]. The captain affixed his signature.

GABRIEL DE RIBERA

BENITO DE MENDIOLA, notary of the fleet

In the city of Manila on the tenth day of the month of June, one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor and captain-general for his Majesty in these islands of the West, after examining these records, ordered that I, the said notary, make two copies of them all, signed and attested, so that they may have authority. I was ordered to give and deliver them to him, to be sent wherever was most fitting for his

Majesty's service. In each one of them he said that he would sanction them, and he did thus sanction by his authority and judicial decree, so that they may be valid and have credibility in court or out of court. He affixed thereto his signature.

DOCTOR FRANCISCO DE SANDE

And I, Alonso Beltran, notary of his royal Majesty and of the government of the Filipinas islands of the West, was present at the above proceeding. I had him affix his signature and affixed my own in testimony of truth.

ALONSO BELTRAN, his Majesty's notary

[*Endorsed at beginning:* "Testimony and proceedings in regard to the expeditions to Burney, Jolo, and Mindanao which were made during the past year (seventy-eight) and this one (seventy-nine) by command of the very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor and captain-general of the Philipinas Islands of the West. These papers are forwarded for his Majesty and his royal Council of the Indies."]

APPOINTMENTS TO VACANCIES IN MANILA CATHEDRAL

The king.⁴⁰ To our governor of the Filipinas islands. When we heard that there were not sufficient tithes for the support of four prebendaries in the cathedral church which is to be erected in those islands, we ordered you in our decree of the thirteenth day of July of the past year 1579, to give them from our treasury a competent stipend, which was to be in proportion to the amount yielded by the said tithes. Now the said bishop has reported that, in case the said prebends or other benefices which were to be established in the said church become vacant, it would be necessary to defer the appointment of other persons thereto until orders could be despatched from here; and thus the said church would remain without the divine service. In view of this inconvenience, he petitions us to give orders that, whenever dignities, canonries, and other benefices of the said church become vacant, they shall immediately be filled by other worthy persons, with the same stipends as those received by their predecessors; or to order what else

⁴⁰ At the top of the sheet is written, on the original MS., "Guadalupe, March 26, 1580," which apparently indicates that the decree was sent to New Spain, and promulgated by the viceroy there.

is our pleasure. With the approval of our Council of the Indies, we favor this; and therefore order you that, whenever the said dignities, canonries, and other benefices of the cathedral church in those islands shall become vacant, you fill them with competent persons of the required rank, who shall serve in the place of those through whom the vacancy occurs, at the same stipend as that received by their predecessors, until we make our appointments.

I, THE KING

By order of his Majesty:

ANTONIO DE ERASO

LETTER FROM RONQUILLO DE PENALOSA TO FELIPE II

Royal Catholic Majesty:

This city has begged me to inform your Majesty about three things solicited by the citizens. May your Majesty command accordingly by a royal decree addressed to me, in order that I may inform them if these things are fitting for the service of your Majesty.

First, that your Majesty may have me informed whether it is convenient that this city be the capital of this government. At present it is the largest city, has the largest population, and is the best governed in this kingdom. It is well situated, so that from it the governor may easily reach the settlements in these islands. Although the place is unhealthful, it would nevertheless for the present be convenient that this city be the capital of this government and the headquarters of the governor.

As to whether the repartimientos of the Indians should be made permanent, I will say that at present such a course would be by no means beneficial to your royal service, as it would cause the soldiers to lose the hope of being rewarded for their services. Those who are now here would not serve and no others would come to this land.

Touching the granting of estates to this city, there

is exceeding need of them, as this city has none belonging to it by which any necessary works may be carried out. Nevertheless I do not know whence the land can be taken without causing much damage. The vacant repartimientos are very necessary to reward the many persons who have served, and who complain with reason that the royal estate is always increasing, and yet it has many debts. May your Majesty provide for everything according to your pleasure. May our Lord guard your royal Catholic Majesty, and increase your Majesty's kingdoms, as we your servants desire. Manila, July seventeenth, of the year 1581. Catholic Royal Majesty, your Majesty's most humble servant, who kisses the royal hands and feet,

DON GONCILLO RRONQUILLO DE PENALOSA

[*Endorsed*: "Seen. An answer is unnecessary."]

ORDINANCE RESTRICTING DEPARTURE FROM THE ISLANDS

At the city of Manila, in the Filipinas islands of the West, on the second day of the month of March of the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-two, the most illustrious Don Gonçalo Ronquillo de Peñalosa, governor and captain-general for his Majesty of these said islands, said that, inasmuch as he had been informed that about three years ago Fray Pedro de Alfaro, custodian of the descalced religious of the order of St. Francis, had left these islands secretly, taking with him other religious, and that he went without order or license therefor from his Majesty or the governor, to the kingdom of China, where he now is;⁴¹ and inasmuch as Fray Pablo de

⁴¹ "A fleet on which were some Franciscan missionaries being at Sevilla in 1576, ready to sail for the Solomon Islands, Felipe II obtained permission from Pope Gregory XIII that they should be sent to evangelize the Philippine Islands—where they arrived on June 24, 1577. They were received in Manila with enthusiastic demonstrations of joy, and soon founded a religious province, which they named San Gregorio Magno ["St. Gregory the Great"—named in honor of Pope Gregory I (A.D. 590-604)]. The marshal, Don Gabriel de Rivera, built for them the convent of San Francisco in that same year, 1577." — ALGUE (*Archipiélago filipino*, i, p. 250).

On June 24, 1577, fifteen religious of St. Francis arrived at Manila, under the orders of Fray Pedro de Alfaro, the father custodian of the province. On June 15, 1579, Alfaro left Luzón

Jesus, a custodian, and other religious did the same thing a few days ago, causing thereby much scandal and talk in this commonwealth: in order to correct the aforesaid as is very necessary and to inform your Majesty thereof, he declared that he was ordering (and he did so order) that it be publicly proclaimed in this city that no person of any quality or condition whatsoever should dare to leave this said city or any other places where said religious may be, accompanied by any persons whatsoever, by land or sea, or in any other manner whatsoever, except with express permission from the governor and captain-general of these islands. This shall be under penalty of incurring confiscation of all property by the exchequer of his Majesty, and proclamation as a traitor and rebel against the royal crown. Moreover, proceedings will be instituted against such person with all due severity. Thus he provided; and, under the said penalties, no one shall dare to give such persons ships or conveyance by which they may leave, without said permission.

Given *ut supra*:

DON GONCALO RONQUILLO DE PENALOSA

By command of his Lordship:

ALONSO BELTRAN

(secretly, as our text declares, because Sande refused to permit him to go), to establish a mission in China; he was accompanied by the friars Juan Bautista, Sebastian de San Francisco, and Agustin de Tordesillas. The last-named wrote a detailed account of their journey and their experiences in China up to November 15 of that year; this relation is published in Mendoca's *Hist. China*, part ii, book ii.

LETTER FROM GONZALO RONQUILLO DE PENALOSA TO FELIPE II

Royal Catholic Majesty:

In another letter of greater length, I have informed your Majesty regarding the affairs of this land, and have requested some things desirable therefor. What is now presented is as follows:

On the twenty-fourth of the past month, there came to this port a ship of about one hundred and twenty toneladas. It was sent by your viceroy of Nueva España, but it contained no reënforcements, nor has he yet despatched them. This country cannot make progress if a year passes without reënforcements, since it depends upon colonists for its settlement and growth. Moreover, the commerce cannot be increased by sending, from year to year, a ship so small that after the departure of two ships (and one of them more than four hundred toneladas) this year, half of the goods remain in this city for lack of a ship. Moreover, this settlement is not provided with a doctor or apothecary, who are greatly needed on account of the insalubrious nature of this country. There was a scarcity of everything except provisions; this fact the royal Audiencia [of Mexico] sent against me, with only false accounts and petty information obtained from the followers of Doctor

Francisco de Sande, my predecessor – whose residencia I had taken, and, as a result thereof, had deprived him of all royal office. Nevertheless, he was received in that royal Audiencia as auditor; and, as a consequence, persons with grievances may well lose hope of obtaining justice. It is just that complaints against me as subjecting him to indignities, be heard, and that justice be done in that tribunal; but I also believe that your Majesty will be pleased to guard the dignity of an office as important as mine, and the servant in whom your Majesty has placed so much confidence. I say this because from Mexico they meddle with my government – giving me orders as to the corregidores whom I am to keep, and addressing private individuals in regard to the supplies, directing them to keep watch over that matter. This gives much occasion for those who are here to lose respect for me. The most serious thing is, that no matter how small the affair may be, they do not listen to me, or to my side of the story. They impose grave penalties upon me and threaten that I will be obliged to defray the expenses of the judge. I send some copies of the commands to your Majesty so that the royal council may consider and provide what is most fitting for your royal service.

Moreover, I have heard news in regard to Captain Graviel de Ribera, who was the attorney of this city; he was one of Doctor Sande's chief enemies, and most accused him in his residencia, as will appear by his own deposition therein. On the way from here to Mexico, he became an ally and confederate of the said Doctor Sande; and together, with false reports and some witnesses who were tools of the said doctor,

they preferred many charges against me in that royal Audiencia. With these charges the said Grabiél de Ribera went to España, without a hearing having been accorded to me or to anyone in my behalf. It is just to believe that in that supreme tribunal, in the presence of your Majesty, injustice will be done to no one – least of all to me, who have served and am now serving your Majesty with so great integrity and solicitude, and who have had so long an experience. I am sure that your Majesty will first give me a hearing, and afterwards command that amends be made for my wrongs, by punishing those who have tried to stain my honor and my good reputation in life and character. This I beseech your Majesty to do, in consideration of my services.

I have great need of an educated assistant, as there is much to be done here in the business of war and government, as well as a great amount of work that must be done in affairs of justice, both civil and criminal. The trouble here is that the people are of such a nature that, at the same time when justice is done to one, an enemy is made of another person. I beseech your Majesty to command such provision to be made as shall be fitting for the royal service.

The sub-lieutenant Francisco de Dueñas, who, as I have explained in another letter, was sent as envoy to Maluco, came to this city on the twenty-second current. He brought very good returns, which have given us all great satisfaction, as your Majesty will see by the letters of the chief captain and other private persons, which I am sending through your viceroy of Nueva España. There is also remitted an account of the voyage and its events. That fortified

place is now open for your Majesty's advantage;⁴² and although its chief captain sent me no request for aid, I know that it is necessary to send the same, as well as to pacify the king of Terrenate. It is very important to understand how desirable it is for that stronghold to prosper, as it is of the greatest advantage for all Nueva España. Consequently, I have been exceedingly troubled by the non-arrival of reinforcements from Nueva España during the past two years. A large number of troops I have assigned to several settlements, as I have already written at greater length. In the shortest time possible I will send aid to Maluco; and from time to time I shall advise what is done in this respect.

Your Majesty has already been informed how the English pirate⁴³ set out for Maluco and the Xabas [Java]. In Maluco he formed a friendship with the king of Terrenate, to whom he promised to return in a short time with more forces. Consequently, I have considered how much more reason there is to believe that they cannot return by the strait of Magallanes – since I know that that strait is well guarded, and because, since they have gone through it, both Piru and Nueva España are warned; they could gain

⁴² Maluco, the Portuguese post on Ternate, was taken over by Spain with other colonial possessions of Portugal, when Felipe II seized the government of the latter country (September, 1580), after the death of its king, the cardinal Henrique. This union lasted during sixty years. The possession of the Moluccas of course gave to Spain the control of the spice trade.

⁴³ Apparently a reference to the visit of Sir Francis Drake to Ternate, in November, 1578. A full account of this visit, the friendly reception of the English by the Malay ruler, and the expulsion of the Portuguese from the island, may be found in Francis Fletcher's *World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (Hakluyt Soc. pubs. no. xvii, London, 1854), pp. 137-148.

nothing in the expedition, and it would certainly be lost. No one but the pirate himself knows the route which he took and the channel which he followed to Maluco; and therefore no efforts were made to check him. If Maluco should be considered in England as of great value, and as a stronghold which can be taken and held with a few men, then they would feel bound to place a large force in it. Your Majesty should do much for its defense. These considerations impress me so strongly that, if I were supplied with more troops and artillery, I could by no means imagine a more necessary task. I will do what I can, however, in your royal service, although it is not under my charge.

In my opinion, the spices should be sent from Maluco to Panama, a voyage very safe and not too long. In this way the ships which conduct it to Panama may touch at Nueva España and leave there the amount necessary for that kingdom, and in Panama, what is needed for Piru, the kingdom of Tierra Firme and the new kingdom of Granada. From the port of Panama, where the ships coming from Maluco anchor, it is but five or six leagues' journey by land to the river of Chagre. From there to España is nothing but water, and consequently the said spices can be conveyed thereby very easily and at little cost. This I think is the shortest, safest, and least expensive method. Your Majesty will order what is most fitting for your service.

The artillery, which your Majesty orders me to send to the viceroy of Peru, I am preparing with promptness. Nevertheless, that which your Majesty has here at present is necessary for this stronghold,

and for the other islands, where I have distributed a number of cannon for their greater security and prosperity.

I send the relation of the islands and their villages, and of their inhabitants and industries, which was forwarded to me to send you. I would send a longer account if more time had elapsed since the receipt of your Majesty's royal decree, which arrived the twenty-fifth of the past month.

No papers whatever of Fray Martin de Rada⁴⁴ were left in this country; nor have I been able to discover any, although most diligent search has been made.

Among the other orders brought by this ship was one directing that a considerable sum of money be paid to Doctor Francisco de Sande. He says that this is due to him as salary; and for the payment of this is designated the greater part of the villages which belong to the royal crown of your Majesty. The fleets are maintained thereby, as well as other expenses of your Majesty here. This order is received with regret and sorrow, and the royal officials have sent a petition to this effect; and I too beseech your Majesty to declare if it be your royal pleasure that this man support himself at the expense of the royal service. May it be provided that we be not constrained thus in similar things.

In the ship that just arrived from Nueva España, there came eighteen descalced friars, a class of people who do much good in this land, on account of their mode of life and their poverty. Nevertheless, they come so eager to pass on to China that it would not

⁴⁴ Rada had died at sea, in June, 1578.

be right to keep them here. Accordingly, in order to console them, I am now giving permission to the commissary who accompanied them, and to four other religious, both to go to Macau [Macao] to visit the house which they have there, and to pass to the bordering kingdom of Cochinchin. News is had that the king of the latter country asks for ministers to teach him our holy faith. I hope to God that benefit may be derived therefrom, for the salvation of those souls. I have also improved the opportunity of the commissary's departure to send by him to the Portuguese of Macau the news of the certainty of the late coronation of your Majesty.⁴⁵ Therefore I expect that that stronghold will be as peaceful as that of Maluco.

Through your viceroy of Nueva España I am sending a copy of the residencia of the doctor Sande, as that sent a year ago was lost with the ship to which it was entrusted.

Much pleasure was caused in the land by the arrival of the bishop,⁴⁶ and I received him as well as I could. On account of the austerity of his disposition and his wish to dominate, people do not like him; and he has caused much discontent among both ecclesiastics and laymen. His Christianity and zeal is worthy, and he will undoubtedly prove to be true. As your Majesty is better informed, you may provide accordingly. May our Lord guard your royal

⁴⁵ Felipe II was crowned at Lisbon in April, 1581.

⁴⁶ The first bishop of Manila, and of the Philippines, Domingo de Salazar (a Dominican) arrived at Manila in March, 1581. With him came Fray Christoval de Salvatierra, of his own order; twenty Augustinians, and eight Franciscans; and two Jesuit priests, Antonio Sedeño and Alonso Sánchez, with the lay brother Nicolas Gallardo. See Juan de la Concepcion's *Hist. Phil.*, ii, pp. 44, 45.

Catholic Majesty and increase your kingdoms, as we your Majesty's vassals desire. Manila, June 15, in the year 1582.

Royal Catholic Majesty, the most humble servant of your Majesty, who kisses the royal feet and hands.

DON GONZALO RRONQUILLO DE PENALOSA

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Most of the documents in this volume are obtained from the Archivo general de Indias, Sevilla. The original MSS. (from copies of which our translations are made) are there preserved in two patronatos, as follows:

(a) "Simancas – Secular; Audiencia de Filipinas; cartas y expedientes del gobernador de Filipinas, vistos en el consejo; años 1567 á 1599; est. 67, caj. 6, leg. 6." To this belong Sande's report of 1576, his letters of July 29, 1578 and May 30, 1579, Peñalosa's letter, and the two documents of 1582.

(b) "Simancas – Filipinas; descubrimientos, descripciones y poblaciones de las Yslas Filipinas; años 1566 á 1586; est. 1, caj. 1, leg. 2|24." From this patronato we obtain Sande's report of 1577 (in ramo 40), and the record of his expedition to Borneo (no. 48). The former lacks a signature, and may be a duplicate copy, sent (as already explained) by another vessel to ensure the arrival of at least one copy in Spain, the signature being perhaps forgotten through some clerical oversight; but its date and composition show it to be Sande's report.

The bull erecting the diocese of Manila is taken from *Doc. inéd. Amér. y Oceanía*, xxxiv, pp. 72-79. The grant of indulgences is obtained from Fray

